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# An Outsider's Guide to the Antifa Movement

Volume I:

History of Fascism & Anti-Fascism,  
Defining Fascism, & Psychological  
Underpinnings

Matthew Knouff



AN OUTSIDERS GUIDE TO THE ANTIFA MOVEMENT.

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# Dedication

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To all of those who risked freedom and life to stand up against oppression,  
regardless of whether or not I personally agree with the cause.

To everyone who provided financial, informational, and/or emotional support  
during the writing of this book.

To my grandfather and grandmother, Frank and Josephine Travnicek, who stood up  
against the fascism of both Hitler and Stalin's GDR.

## Foreword

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*SETTING: At a small, Midwestern American Legion speaker's hall.*

A small crowd of military veterans amass awaiting a long-awaited speech by unnamed speaker.

*INTRODUCTION:*

“Thank you everyone for coming tonight and for all of your support. Tonight we have a special guest. A decorated military veteran who fought valiantly in the Vietnam War. Through his brave actions and quick thinking, he saved the lives of hundreds of his fellow combatants. He rose through the ranks, from private, to becoming one of the best marksmen in the army, eventually becoming one of the highest ranking military officials. He was one of the most courageous soldiers of our time, and a devoted family man. His story has been an inspiration to many. Please give a round of applause for our special guest: Kim Il-Jong.

*The crowd begins to clap, yet after about a half-second, ceases the clapping and looks around at each other, with confused stares. The writer overhears a conversation between two older gentlemen, both well-respected, decorated veterans of the Vietnam War.*

*Veteran 1:* Bravery? Is this a joke? I lost my best friend from high school, my older brother, and half of the regiment I deployed with because of his people.

*Veteran 2:* This is bullshit! Bravery my ass! I'm not putting up with this..

Despite being fictional – and a rather lousy retelling of a similar story heard on a few different radio programs over the years – would this reaction be unexpected? As Americans (or, if you are not American, insert your nation), should we not despise this Vietnamese man? He is a member of the same military forces leading to the physical and mental disabilities, and even deaths, of many of our family members, friends, and ancestors. How could such a man be brave? Or a devout family man? How could anyone celebrate such a despicable sub-human creature? The last few sentences were written facetiously, if not obvious.

When we reflect on history, we celebrate the colonists who fought bravely against the tyranny of the British crown, and seemingly against all odds, were able to gain independence for America. However, less than a century later, the Confederate soldiers, who fought against the tyranny of the federal government, are relatively universally considered traitors. Many of us support the tearing down of Confederate statues, yet the many of those

same individuals are not advocating for the tearing down of statues celebrating historical figures not associated with the Confederacy, yet actually had a more significant role in the slave trade. Are we really to believe that despite less than two percent of the Confederate population being slave owners, that all, or even a majority, of Confederate soldiers were fighting to keep slavery, when some of these same soldiers were indentured servants themselves? Numerous historical recounts provide evidence in favor of most Confederates fighting for sovereignty – for the same fundamental reason as the colonists less than a century before.

How would the revolutionary colonists have been perceived historically if they had lost? Many colonists still supported the crown and perceived such revolutionaries not as revolutionaries to be celebrated but as traitors to be hanged. What if the Confederates had won? Would slavery still exist in the U.S. southern states, despite the sharp decline in the Western slave trade at the time of the Civil War? If the Confederates would have won, the historical account would have read much differently.

Another issue, not entirely separate but somewhat tangential, is the typical perspective of history. History tends to be written from the perspective of societal elites, not from the average citizen. This is especially true when the topic of discussion is history textbooks. With the exception of the individual who studied history, anthropology, or a related field at a university-level, how often did your history classes involve the study of primary or original documents, or even secondary sources, taking into account the historical perspective of the average citizen? Throughout the study of American history, how often was the focus of study on the beliefs, feelings, and desires of the average soldiers in the context of a war versus that of the military generals and societal elite? The history of the common people, the proletariat, or whatever term is preferred compared to the ruling class and other societal elites is often significantly different.

Looking back at our fictional Vietnamese soldier in the beginning recount, who would have likely faced a barrage of racial slurs and perhaps various fruits, vegetables, and other projectiles, was he not arguably fighting for the same fundamental reasons as the colonists in the American Revolution? As the Confederates in the Civil War? As the Allied forces during World War II? Was he not also fighting for the safety and security of his family – for the sovereignty of his family and countrymen? When viewed as an individual of a similar social class as that of the American soldier opposing him, it becomes obvious that the actual interests of both individuals is not actually all that different – the safety and security of his respective countrymen. However, the conflict between the ruling class of each respective nation is what brings about the conflict. This is not to malign the American veteran – the veteran deserves respect and much, much better

medical care and benefits than currently received. It is the ruling class which deserves the criticism for the war – the failure of the politicians. Whether the blame resides solely upon the Americans, the Vietnamese, or some weighted combination of both, is outside of the scope of this book.

It is necessary when assessing any complex, divisive social issue to attempt to understand the rationale of each side. Frequently, complex social issues with a plurality of actual points-of-view are reduced to simple dichotomies, frequently attached to the Democrat-Republican or left-right paradigm. The alternative perspective is maligned as being sub-human and excessively cruel, or grossly immoral and an example of liberal indoctrination, when in fact, most social issues are not simple dichotomies. One such example is as follows: Either you are pro-Antifa or pro-Nazi.

The “pro-Antifa” versus “pro-Nazi” false dichotomy should seem ridiculous, given the bulk of mainstream liberals and conservatives do not ascribe to the ideologies of the bulk of the Antifa movement – the anarchist Black Bloc core, Communist or revolutionary factions, or even the left-progressives and greens, nor do they ascribe to the political ideologies of the bulk of the Richard Spencer-sponsored “Alt-Right”, the National Socialist and neo-Nazi movements, or even the reactionary militia and social groups. It would be similar to saying, “If you don't vote Democrat, you hate the poor!”, to someone who voted for a relatively recent Green Party candidate such as Jill Stein, Ralph Nader, or Cynthia McKinney. Even within a group, individual beliefs will differ. While finding a neo-Nazi member of the Antifa movement (that is not an infiltrator, obviously) is unlikely, factions within the Antifa movement argue over specific political ideologies, with some progressives and socialists within the movement believing in a strong, centralized authoritarian government for the benefit of the people, and many others promoting anarchism – a total rejection of the state.

When I first began the process of research for this book, a part of me was excited to expose corruption within the so-called “far-left” / “alt-left” social movements, given the lack of coverage at the time in the media. Viewing video footage of Black Bloc in military formation and practicing firearm usage, engaging in physical confrontations with seemingly innocent people, and hearing rhetoric in favor of “punching a Nazi” while some being punched were slightly more reactionary than Bernie Sanders, increased my motivation for writing such a manuscript. Hearing the constant barrage of “Nazi” this and “Fascist” that, when my own Czech grandfather and East German grandmother had to deal with actual Nazism was rather insulting – and even a bit infuriating. However, the more members of the Antifa movement, as well as certain groups within the opposition, I interviewed, the more my initial interpretation shifted. The frustrations expressed by both sides are frustrations that I can relate to – that many Americans can relate to

– even though the exact causative mechanism and proposed solutions would be rejected by many within society. Both sides are furious about the outsourcing of jobs, the increasing power of multinational corporations, the increasing intrusiveness of the government into our personal lives, the increasing military budget yet continued complaints about not having any money for social problems, an educational system which is failing society, etc. If we look back to the 1990s, many of these groups who are now in the streets opposing each other, were fighting next to each other in the streets against the corruption of the FTAA, WTO, and similar meetings of international elites.

When evaluating the Antifa movement, the bulk of what the media covers is the “what” and the “who” – exposing a specific individual for doing a specific action against a specific person or property. However, this is rarely useful outside of a narrow context of simple fact-gathering and documentation. A similar issue is common amongst the John F. Kennedy assassination investigators, who spend a lot of time discussing specific people involved and specific aspects of the case, all of which are interesting and useful, yet fail to incorporate the larger useful context. The important question to consider, a question which is typically much harder to answer, is 'why?'. Why are thousands of individuals from relatively diverse backgrounds willing to join together in the streets, don balaclavas, and engage in felonious activities which could potentially harm their public perception, future employment prospects, and even lead to a significant stint in federal prison? The 'anti-Trump' answer frequently submitted for the why fails the test, given the presence of the Black Bloc in America to the late 1980s. Did the Black Bloc foreshadow the Trump presidency then, or have an issue when Donald Trump then, or is the why more complex than Trump? Perhaps the Black Bloc stems from a group who had a less than stellar stay at a Trump hotel in the 1980s? (Sarcasm, obviously.)

Most Americans want to “be free”. For some of us, being free means being left alone. For others, it means to have the opportunities afforded to some but immensely more difficult for others to access due to socioeconomic status: education and access to *quality* health care. Some of us want the right to engage in a marriage contract through the state so our same-sex partner is awarded the same benefits as others, while others want the right to practice his or her religious beliefs without interference from the state. This is the decades-long fight between negative and positive liberty, a battle in which compromise has been presented as the solution repeatedly, yet the compromises seem to provide little benefit for either side.

If you are reading this book to discover evidence of corruption within the Antifa movement to support your claim that the movement should be classified as a “terrorist group”, you will more than likely find something



of interest to you within this book. If you are an anti-fascist looking for the same evidence for the opposition, you will find that as well. However, neither is the purpose of this book. The purpose of this book, as well as the subsequent volumes in the series, is to educate the public on the anti-fascist movement, providing a relatively broad coverage of the movement and associated topics, so an individual with little knowledge of the movement and its associated context can pick up this book without any other resources and become well-educated on Antifa. I provide recommended reading lists as well, for those who are wanting further books to read. I definitely do not recommend utilizing this book as the only source of knowledge on Antifa, or utilizing a single source for knowledge of any complex topic, so the reading lists and complete reference lists are provided at the end of each chapter.

# Introduction

Who or what exactly is Antifa? Over one year ago, in the earliest stages of development for this book, almost everyone I spoke with had not heard of Antifa, even with a description being provided. Many downplayed the importance of Antifa or ascribed it to some form of Alex Jones-esque, InfoWars-style “conspiracy theory”. Militant leftists combating fascism openly in the streets, utilizing violence? “That’s not true!”, I was told by one individual. Then, the tragedy of Charlottesville occurred, where an individual who associated with the National Alliance<sup>1</sup> drove his 2010 Dodge Challenger into an anti-racism activist named Heather Heyer, causing her death. Suddenly, Antifa was no longer a conspiracy theory; it was now a group that if one did not wholly support it, a subset of liberals deemed that person a “Nazi”. It became taboo to speak anything but praise for the Antifa movement amongst certain social circles. As time passed, the Facebook mafia and others moved onto other issues, frequently breaking off into pro-Trump and anti-Trump crowds, missing the larger issues at-hand.

Antifa is not a clearly defined organization. One does not “join”, pay membership dues, and no constitution and bylaws are available. Antifa is not even an organization or a group. Antifa, shortened from “anti-fascist”, is the name of a social movement – a social movement based on a shared idea that fascism, and its related concept of racism, are detrimental to society and must be stopped through a unified front of an all-inclusive list of tactics. The Black Bloc, the manifestation of the Antifa movement most readily identifiable by the black masks, is a militant tactic utilized to create a collective front to instill fear from potential violence, and in cases where violence is deemed necessary, decrease likelihood of identification and apprehension as a result of engaging in violence. The Antifa movement includes numerous groups with a variety of purposes, as well as “lone wolf” individuals – individuals who engage in non-violent, behind the

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1 The individual arrested and charged for this offense was James A. Fields, Jr., an Army veteran with history of mental illness, who was photographed in a National Alliance uniform earlier in the day, with other National Alliance members. National Alliance denies he is a registered member.

scenes advocacy to those who engage solely in confrontational street clashes with authority.



Photo of 2010 Challenger, seconds after accident.

Without a clearly defined organization and membership rosters, and being actively involved in a highly politically-charged issue, the Antifa label has been co-opted and wrongly attributed for personal and/or malicious purposes, by a variety of individuals and organizations. False reports, including a story of a man supposedly being stabbed for having a “Nazi” haircut, a November 4<sup>th</sup> revolutionary march attributed to the Antifa movement which was actually organized by a Communist league which has traditionally been at odds with the core of the Antifa movement, a Fox News program of a “Boston Antifa” who justified the stabbing of a police horse for being a racist Trump supporter, and a video of Antifas singing a song requesting George Soros money which was reported in alternative media as proof of Antifa being a Soros-funded operation, are just a few examples of Antifa being utilized for personal gain or malicious purposes.

Similar to the American Indian Movement, the Black Panther Party, right-wing militia groups, and other politically dissident groups that have a history of law enforcement infiltration, including infiltrators

and informants utilized as agent provocateurs, this has been a frequent issue with Antifa as well. Consider the Louder with Crowder example where Gay Jared infiltrated an anti-fascist group to collect information. While the purpose of this was seemingly commendable – to conduct honest journalism and to potentially protect innocent people from unwarranted acts of violence – the end result was still infiltration. If a relatively small budget, alternative media source with little training in social movement infiltration can successfully infiltrate an anti-fascist group, what is to stop a well-trained federal task force from not only doing the same, but from derailing the plans of the group similar to what has been done historically with anarchist groups, the Black Panther Party, the Tea Party Movement, various conservative movements, and the American Indian Movement?

Where did Antifa come from? This answer is either resoundingly simple – 1932 Germany, the KPD (German Communist Party) – or increasingly difficult if the scope is broadened. What exactly is meant by the source of Antifa? Antifaschistische Aktion of the KPD in 1932 Germany obviously emerged in response to a perceived threat of some form, whether it be the various ineffectual mainstream political parties in Germany, or long-standing antisemitism in greater Europa.

At a certain point, the connection to modern-day Antifa becomes less and less relevant. The event chosen as the starting point for this book is the Dreyfus Affair, with the Dreyfusards being the historical source the modern-day Antifa movement. This event was chosen given it was a clash of two specific societal groups, one anti-semitic in nature and the other against the anti-Semites – a clash which continued into the era of fascism, where the fascist ideologies emerged from those who blamed issues on the Jewish people in previous times. A variety of events and groups throughout history are chosen to provide a general time-line for the history of Antifa. For the scope of this volume, the American Antifa history ends in 2003, with the Iraq War protests. Volume Two provides 2003 to 2017 American Antifa history. Chapters One through Three provide a history of the Antifa movement.

What exactly is fascism? Fascism is a word in which almost everyone can identify and provide at least one example. However, an example is not a definition. Mussolini's Italian Fascism is fascism by name, but other ideologies, even those that are not primarily political in nature, have been labeled as fascism. Chapters Four through Six discuss

fascism from a variety of contexts, ranging from its historical roots, to modern-day social groups, and finally discussing how individuals within the Antifa movement define fascism.

Finally, Chapter Seven discusses the psychological underpinnings of political views and activism. Most research is on liberalism versus conservatism. However, much of this research can be further extrapolated to libertarianism, anarchism, socialism, communism, and fascism. Ideas such as disgust tolerance, moral panics, morality, social identity, and related psychological topics are discussed in Chapter Seven.

This text is the first of a multi-volume series on the Antifa movement. This series is designed to serve multiple purposes, for multiple populations. First, the book is designed to be accessible to anyone who is interested in Antifa, yet has little background in history, philosophy, or politics. A breadth of subjects discussed within this book should provide more than sufficient understanding for even the most basic neophyte. Secondly, it provides specific information and analysis useful for the more well-informed scholar and researcher. Finally, it is an all-encompassing book which could be used as an encyclopedia reference, a textbook, or for other reference or educational purposes. Subsequent books in this series will delve in more detail on specific topics within this movement.

# Chapter I:

# Historical Models

## Introduction

Do events follow predictive paths? This has been a line of inquiry of numerous philosophers, theologians, and others over the course of centuries. If the course of history follows predictive trends, it logically follows that by identifying the location within the current trend in which a society current lies, adjustments can be made to avoid potential future consequences. However, history fails to follow a perfect trajectory, and even in cases when a problematic trend, its associated causative factors, and potential working solutions are all identified, implementation has proven nearly impossible, or at least unlikely.

In this chapter, various models of history will be discussed, including Strauss and Howe's controversial Generational Theory, a theory which increased in prominence as a result of former Trump administration National Security Council member Steve Bannon's comments about American society entering a fourth turning. Given the theory presented by some anti-fascists that Bannon and Trump are fascists, and that this book's predictive measures are being utilized to implement fascist policy, it is important to provide a brief discussion of the Generational Theory. The Generational Theory also provides an interesting model for at least organizing ebbs and flows in activist participation in the United States. Albeit imperfect, large-scale societal unrest appears to follow generational cycles at least in a loose manner, with various generations more likely to be known for militant activism. Anti-capitalists also present a theory, which has been presented by others as well, that fascism is the ultimate expression of capitalism – fascism emerges at the end stage of the cycle of capitalist societies.

## Models of History

***“Modern societies too often reject circles for straight lines between starts and finishes. Believers in linear progress, we feel the need to keep moving forward. The more we endeavor to defeat nature, the more profoundly we land at the mercy of its deeper rhythms.”<sup>1</sup>***

Throughout history, researchers have proposed cyclical and other non-linear models of history, whether through clothing fads, musical taste, aesthetic preferences, common societal virtues, warfare patterns, growth and decline of institutions, urban growth and decay, etc. This opposes two other relevant temporal explanations of history: the perilinear method, which views history as occurring on a straight line temporally with one unique event occurring after another, and the chaos theory of history, viewing historical events as occurring relatively randomly with respect to randomly occurring variables. No model of history has been conclusively decided to be absolutely correct, with each model having varying degrees of usefulness in describing different areas of historical study.

The study of history as it relates to temporality predates modernity, with one of the first documented instances involving pagan and polytheistic belief systems, which tended to discuss life and the course of civilizations in terms of cyclical patterns, including reincarnation cycles. These reincarnation cycles had termination potential, given certain conditions are met.

The Chinese dynasties were perceived as occurring in cycles. The Roman Empires referred to each completion of a societal cycle as a saeculum. Modern historians, including Oswald Spengler, Arnold Toynbee, and Joseph Tainter, have all influenced the study of temporality of history. William Strauss and Neil Howe, utilizing a generational theory of history, not only wrote successful books on the topic of temporal cycles of history but created a successful consulting business in the process. In the remainder of this chapter, other models as

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1 Quote from *The Fourth Turning*, by Strauss & Howe.

they relate to fascism and the anti-fascism movement will be discussed.

## **Ancient Cyclical Models**

Chinese dynasties were theorized to follow cyclical patterns, referred to as the dynastic cycle of Ancient China. In this cycle, the initial rulers establish a dynasty through merit and are strong, competent and fair. Because of this, they are able to seize additional land and unify the kingdom. The people believe the ruler possesses the mandate of heaven – a divine right to rule.

The heir to the initial ruler, who is able to live a lavish, comfortable lifestyle as a result of the unified, wealthy kingdom. Unlike their predecessor, early stages of rule are much easier, starting with a unified kingdom. In order to maintain an ever increasing desire for wealth and comfort, taxes are gradually raised. Military leaders become complacent. Individual states become weaker and weaker, to the point of being unable to adequately defend attacks from outsiders. Subsequent rulers become increasingly corrupt and incompetent. Subjects become more rebellious and obedient. Institutions decline. Eventually, the ruler is no longer believed to have the mandate from heaven to rule. Subsequently, a new ruler from within or outside the kingdom assumes power, restoring the kingdom and institutions. The new ruler, who provides better treatment to the subjects of the kingdom, is believed to possess the mandate of heaven. The cycle continues.

Before the official adoption of Christianity, Ancient Greeks and Romans perceived history as cyclical in nature as well. The term *saeculum*, originating with the Etruscans and later adopted by the Ancient Romans, influenced future historians, including Strauss and Howe (1991, 1997), discussed later in this chapter. A *saeculum* is approximately one century and consists of four seasons: youth, rising adulthood, midlife, and old age. This was the dominant view of historical progression prior to Christianity in the region.



## Spengler, Toynbee, & Tainter

Oswald Spengler, an early twentieth-century historian and author of *The Decline of the West* (1918, 1922), postulates that cultures are superorganisms, and similar to living organisms, have finite lifespans that progress through life in relatively distinct, but related, periods: born, grow, decay, died. Trends may be ascertained as a result of careful, methodological study of historical periods. Two interesting predictions were made by Spengler:

1. Around year 2000, a superpower would emerge utilizing Caesarism<sup>1</sup> as a protective measure against cultural death.<sup>2</sup>
2. On his death bed in 1936, he predicted that towards the end of the next 10 years, the Third Reich will be gone.<sup>3</sup>

Arnold Toynbee, in his seminal work *A Study of History*, outlined the cyclical nature of history, theorizing reasons why an average of 95 years between total, international war is typically observed. This trend is the result of the survivors of the total war soundly objecting any future attempts at total war, and the necessity of this generation passing before another total war may emerge as a possibility. This necessitates that those who participate in the total war have a role in policy-making, or are able to protest in such a manner to direct policy. Given this observed cycle, a total war is predicted for the United States in the near future. With strained relations with Russia and China, engagement in numerous proxy wars in the Middle East and Africa, and alliances with Israel and Saudi Arabia, who would be in favor of a war with Iran (who Russia would ally with), the geopolitical

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1 Caesarism is a form of rule led by a charismatic, dictatorial power, with assistance of a violent social order and hyper-militarism. Examples of leaders utilizing Caesarism include Napoleon Bonaparte and Benito Mussolini. Historians including Dr. Michael Parenti dispute the accuracy of this term, stating Caesar was a populist who improved social conditions of commoners. Parenti, 2012.

2 Spengler, 1922.

3 Bronder, 1964, pg 25.

landscape shows predictive factors potential of triggering a total war.

Joseph Tainter, in *Collapse of Complex Societies*, theorized that social complexity contributed to a cyclical nature of history. As a society solves problems, roles increase in differentiation and specialization. This increase in differentiation and specialization leads to an increase in bureaucracy and energy consumption, which contributes to a reduction in gain after each problem is solved. Eventually, a society experiences negative returns, leading to eventual societal collapse. A new society emerges from the collapse, and the cycle continues.

### Four Phases of Society

Peeters (1998) describes four phases of society, occurring in order: religious, militaristic, materialistic, and a future fourth phase, to be determined. The religious phase is the most basic, where communal societies confer most issues to a shaman or another form of religious or spiritual authority. These societies tend to be close-knit, with relatively little infrastructure, as well as being theocratic and authoritarian. Democracy in this form of society is not impossible, yet is difficult to achieve.

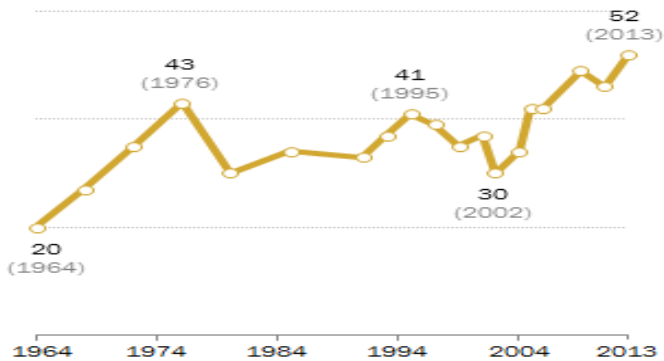
High potential aggressiveness marks the militaristic phase. As per capita gross domestic product (pcGNP) increases, potential aggressiveness decreases. When pcGNP is low, military-industrial might is low as well. Without capital, a society is unable to engage in international conflict, or if the low pcGNP nation does engage in conflict, it will be unable to fund the conflict rather quickly without outside assistance. Therefore, it is hypothesized that military aggressiveness follows a bell-shaped curve: the lowest end does not engage in conflict despite having high potential aggressiveness, and the highest end does not engage in military conflict due to increased likelihood of implemented democracy – the citizens would not approve of a war.

At present, this view of militaristic aggression from the perspective of the United States government is seemingly invalidated, as a result of the past sixteen years (2001-2017) of American foreign policy in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Libya, and other nation-states whose sovereignty became secondary to American military-

industrial interests. George W. Bush-era foreign policy of preemptive strikes, the Department of Homeland Security, increased domestic spying, and the Patriot Act should have been flatly rejected by the American public, or at least resulted in an election of either Democrat John Kerry (more likely) or Green Party candidate Ralph Nader (less likely), the latter who expressed unequivocally a non-interventionist stance. It should be noted that during the buildup to the Iraq war, massive demonstrations occurred in numerous cities across the nation. This is discussed in the latter part of Chapter 3.

### Majority Says U.S. Should 'Mind Its Own Business Internationally'

*% agreeing that the U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own'*



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: PEW2d (Omnibus). 1964-1991 data from Gallup.

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### Multi-decade Poll of Non-Interventionist Support<sup>a</sup>

Public disapproval of interventionist military strategies adheres to Peeter's stage theory, with 2006 support for the Iraq War plummeting, as it became evident the war was not expedient nor inexpensive, and was costly to thousands of American soldiers lives. Public disapproval continued into the Obama-era, as the initial stated plan of troop withdrawal shifted to increased involvement in the Middle East. In 2006, a poll conducted by CNN found 34 percent in support of, and 64

<sup>a</sup> Pew Research Center. Source of data listed at bottom of image.

percent in opposition to, the Iraq War<sup>1</sup>. An NBC/WSJ telephone poll resulted in 54 percent of respondents expressing that Obama is unfit to lead the country as a result of his foreign policy decisions and only 27 percent (down 13 percent from previous year) believing the Afghanistan War was worth it<sup>2</sup>. Pew Research reported support for non-interventionism went from 41 percent in 1996, to 30 percent in the year following the World Trade Center disaster (2002), and rising to a multi-decade high of 52 percent in 2013.

Despite protests by groups on both ends of the political spectrum, including Antifa and Black Lives Matter (BLM), as well as right-leaning groups of a variety of beliefs, the public-at-large has not revolted en masse – at least not with tactics which have proven to be effective at shifting military policy. Perhaps it will require an economic downturn of 1930s Great Depression magnitude, a military strike by EMP resulting in loss of electronic devices and other technological systems and structures, or a similarly devastating set of circumstances to result in revolutionary action? A series of events resulting in a natural disaster-style scenario for the nation-at-large may trigger riots, mass looting, and general chaos, but would it result in a less militaristic, more general welfare and simultaneously liberty-focused governmental body?

The materialistic stage is where the current United States, as well as most developed nations, exist within this model. This stage is marked by heightened consumerism. Democracy tends to exist within this stage, and has been shown to be viable with pcGNPs as low as \$3,000 to \$4,000. In extreme cases, it may take until pcGNPs elevates past \$6,500. Peeter discusses communism as a potential alternative to this model. However, communist systems tend to have relatively low pcGNPs, with the states with higher pcGNPs typically being mixed with capitalism to an extent. Heightened consumerism tends to result in increased hedonism and gluttony, creating an environment where economic collapses are especially difficult to members in a society of a high comfort level. Peeter predicted 2017 as the date of the next major economic collapse, with 2042 being the date of a collapse so major, that society will require an evolution into a fourth stage.

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- 1 Telephone survey conducted by Opinion Research Corporation with sample size ( $N = 1,012$ ) and overall margin of error ( $\pm 3\%$ ).
  - 2 Telephone survey conducted by NBC/WSJ with sample size ( $N = 337$ ) and overall margin of error ( $\pm 3.1\%$ ).

The fourth stage of this model is unknown. It has yet to be exhibited by any society. However, given the inherent instability in a free market capitalist system<sup>1</sup>, it is hypothesized that some new form of society will emerge. This author hypothesizes that if this societal stage theory is correct, the next evolution may be marked by universal basic income and some form of technocratic society, and the catalyst for such a merger will be advances in robotics, decrease in the cost of robotics for menial labor jobs, and an influx of individuals unable to capitalize on such a system due to inherent biological inferiority (i.e. lower IQ) or lack of specific skills. The exact form of governance in the future society will be guided by those in power at the moment. However, it is up to the masses to hold the leaders accountable for ensuring that basic liberties are protected. The increased occurrence and overall participation in activities demonstrating civil unrest have the potential to affect society for the better of all.

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1 No nation-states operate with an economic model of pure free market capitalism at the time of writing. Brook & Watkins (2008), Wallison (2009), Salsman (2009, 2013), and others argue that it is the welfare state and/or other acts of government intervention in the free market which leads to economic collapse. The Marxist view is that capitalism is inherently corrupt and will eventually collapse – its a system which creates extreme income disparities, leading to an oligarchical class and an impoverished class.

## **Generational Theory of History**

William Strauss and Neil Howe (1997), in *The Fourth Turning*, present an argument for a cyclical view of Anglo-Saxon history, consisting of saeculum, with each divisible by four common generations. Each generation is distinctively unique in terms of expression and values, and reactive to the previous in predictable ways.

Strauss's theory correlates with the average lifespan of Western people: 80 years. Each lifespan is divisible into four parts: childhood, young adult, midlife, elderhood. A generation consists of a grouping of individuals born in an approximate 20 year period. The first generation of a saeculum is a dominant generation, with a reactive, recessive generation following, which is followed by the third generation which is a dominant generation, followed by a fourth generation, which is recessive. Just as a pendulum swings back and forth, generational cohorts and their historical periods swing back and forth as well. Each generational shift is referred to as a turning.

### **Great Power Saeculum**

The Great Power Saeculum includes the period of time from the post-Civil War Reconstruction period through the Second World War. We will begin mid-saeculum, with the Lost Generation, the generation which came of age during World War II and the Prohibition era, including significant leaders including Adolf Hitler, Harry Truman, and others.

### **World War I & Prohibition**

The Era of World War I and Prohibition occurred as the Lost Generation, born 1883 – 1900, entered young adulthood. This was a nomad generation, growing up during a period of urban blight, prior to drug legislation, industrialization coupled with poor working conditions, and large monopolies controlling the railroads and other major industries. Societal class divide increased, with the peasant farmers and low wage industrial workers became further separated from business tycoons, an emerging class of eccentric celebrities, and other

wealthy individuals.

This generation produced historical figures including Harry Truman, Adolph Hitler, and Mao Zedong, controversial politicians who exercised increasing levels of control over society as leaders. Individuals in mid-life and entering elderhood during this period were important in breaking up business monopolies and engaging in other moral crusades.

The specific members the Lost Generation of notable importance to fascism include Benito Mussolini – the father of fascism, Adolf Hitler, Francisco Franco, and others. Emperor Hirohito of Japan, who was allied with the fascist and fascist-sympathetic Axis powers during World War II, was born in 1901, one year removed from the Lost Generation, per Strauss and Howe's figures. Growing up in societies where industrialization created urban blight, young children worked for pitiful wages, and the societal elites amassed growing wealth, while a significant portion of the working class lived in squalor. The Civil War was a generation removed from the Lost Generation, yet parts of the country were still having difficulty dealing with the economic collapse and seemingly unfair, low agricultural market prices created a situation where farmers frequently failed to amass any profit.

By the time this class reached mid-to-late adulthood, the Civil War was three generations prior, with the survivors of the Civil War mostly deceased. Without the reminders of the horrors of the Civil War from the survivors themselves, and the lack of a political majority who fought in or faced hardship as a result of the Civil War, hesitation hastened regarding the entrance of international conflict.

## **Depression & World War II**

The G.I. Generation, a hero generation born between 1901 and 1924, is the first generation we've discussed with living representatives – albeit very few – and marks the coming of age of fascism – at least fascism as a separate, named form of governance and economic policy. The G.I. generation benefited from advances made by the Lost Generation, including new playgrounds, improved schools, anti-monopoly legislation, and improved work conditions.

The G.I. Generation survived the Great Depression, learning the

ability to live meagerly, and as young adults, fought valiantly in World War II. Through the tragedy of World War II and the hardships faced during the Great Depression, this generation is marked by modesty, with immense hesitation regarding the entrance in future wars. Leaders such as President John F. Kennedy were more reluctant regarding entrance in international conflict than the previous generation, of the Truman Administration, an administration responsible for the only documented utilization of atomic weapons in war. President Lyndon B. Johnson marked a departure from the more traditionalist policies of the previous generation towards more progressive legislation, with his administration responsible for passing the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965<sup>1</sup>, the Gun Control Act of 1968<sup>2</sup>, Revenue Act of 1964<sup>3</sup>, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964<sup>4</sup>, and numerous programs including Head Start, food stamps, and the expansion and implementation of Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid.

On an international scale, economic hardship, a perceived, and debatable, lack of efficacy of more centrist government officials, and increasing social class divide influenced the Russian Revolution, leading to the authoritarian rule of Joseph Stalin, and the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany, Spain, and numerous other nations. As mentioned in Chapter 1, in the German election of 1932, both the Communist and Nazi parties gained significant popularity in voting, accounting for nearly of the votes in the election. As a response to the paramilitary fascist forces in Germany, Italy, and other nations, paramilitary forces developed on the left, including the original iteration of Antifa.

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- 1 This is from the Hart-Celler Immigration Bill, signed October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1965, by President Lyndon Johnson. This replaced the previous quota system where 70 percent of immigration slots were designated for the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Germany, placing all countries relatively equal in status, placing emphasis on family reunification and employment skills.
  - 2 This act is responsible for regulating interstate and foreign sales of firearms, prohibiting sales to felons and other designated individuals, and implementing licensing provisions.
  - 3 This legislation is the largest tax reduction act in U.S. history, reducing the individual rate range from 20 to 91% to 16 to 77% and corporate tax rate range from 30 to 52% to 22 to 50%.
  - 4 EOA of 1964 was central legislation to the “War on Poverty” and President Johnson's “Great Society” agenda, providing subsidized job skills development, education, small business loans, etc.



## **American High**

The American High era, occurring from 1946 to 1964, was marked by increased economic and political power of the U.S. internationally and growth of a seemingly stable middle class. This was the era of expansion of entitlement programs, public works projects, increased gun regulation, and other policies that align with progressivism. The G.I.s entered midlife during this generation, and the Silent entering young adulthood.

The Silent Generation was born between 1925 and 1942, with only the oldest of the Silent Generation having to serve during World War II. Influenced by parents who survived the Great Depression and World War II, this generation was protected by their parents.

This era is the first turning, following WWII. With the exception of regional military conflicts (i.e. Vietnam, Korea) and the cold war, the focus shifted towards internal social matters (see previous section regarding policy by President Johnson marked this era).

## **Consciousness Revolution**

The Boom Generation, also known more frequently as the generation of “baby boomers”, were born between 1943 and 1960, coming into young adulthood in the early 60s to early-to-mid 70s. This was the generation of the “flower power” hippies, who vehemently protested the Vietnam War, resulting in the case of four dead and nine injured, including one who suffered paralysis, at the hands of the Ohio National Guard on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1970, at Kent State University. Lesser-known clashes between students and government entities also occurred at University of New Mexico, with eleven students bayoneted by the New Mexico National Guard, and numerous other locations across the country. Others were conscripted into mandatory military service, returning home traumatized, to a frequently less-than-welcoming homecoming.

Previous generations tended to abhor drug use culture, preferring a clean lifestyle of responsibility. The baby boomer generation, on the other hand, advocated the use of “mind expanding” substances such as LSD and other psychedelics. These attitudes did not

persist, as many involved in the 1960s free love movement engaged in mainstream careers by the 1980s. Traces of the free love movement idealism reemerged in public policy in favor of amnesty of illegal immigrants, health care and other entitlement reform to assist the disenfranchised of society, “reproductive rights” legislation, and similar progressive policies.

College administrators are mostly of the baby boomer generation, having a considerably more laissez-faire approach to students organizing in protest. This permissiveness works to the advantage of militant anti-fascist and anti-racist factions, allowing mass congregations of this type to engage in black bloc activities near student-organized protests. While motives of groups are never fully reducible to a single influencing factor, perhaps it is no coincidence the generation of the Kent State massacre tends towards a more hands-off mediation approach of the police departments when intervening during acts of activism?

## Long Boom & Culture Wars

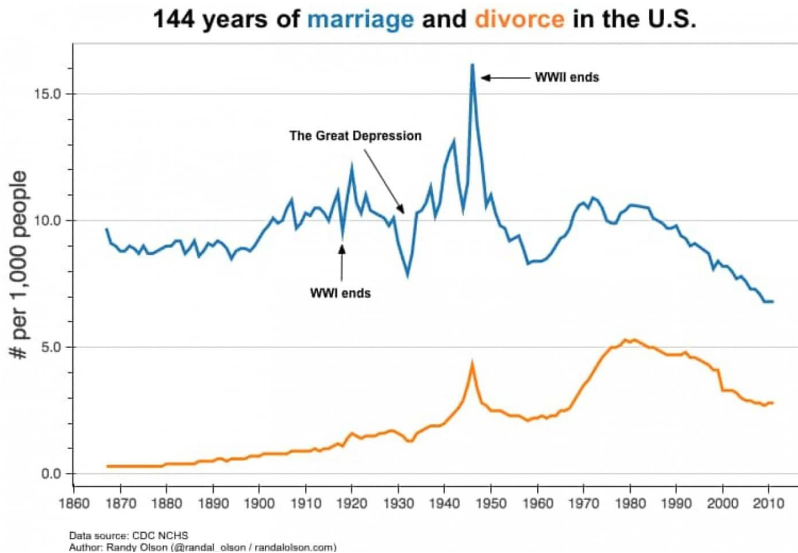
Generation X, referred to as the “13<sup>th</sup> generation” in Strauss & Howe (1991)'s *Generations*, includes individuals born between 1961 and 1981. This generation was mostly composed of children of baby boomers. This generation had lower test scores, higher criminality, and greater fear of national catastrophe<sup>1</sup>. This is the first generation of post-women's liberation and birth control pills, and the generation which was born in the general range of the Roe vs. Wade Supreme Court decision. Rock music and the emergence of hip hop catalyzed a moral panic, with elders debating censorship. This generation included Michael J. Fox, Mike Tyson, and Michael Jordan.

Marriage rates (blue) and divorce rates (orange).<sup>a</sup>

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1 Strauss & Howe, 1991: 317.

a Source: CDC NCHS, Randy Olson.



Generation X were born into an economic downturn of the 1970s, with inflation leading to the cost of housing and necessities increasing significantly. Marriage rates started the downturn which continues today, with marriage rates half of what they were a half-century ago, and divorce rates are dropping, but at a slower rate than the marriage drop, leading to a higher proportion of divorce. Divorce plagued the families of this generation, with divorce rates increasing from less than 20% of couples in 1950 to approximately 50% in 1970, with almost half of children born in the 1970s experiencing divorce of parents, compared to 11% in 1950s<sup>1</sup>. Former California Governor Ronald Reagan signed the first no-fault divorce bill in 1969, easing the legal process of divorce and likely influencing an increase in actual divorce.

High rates of parental divorce, coupled with increased advertising opportunities through television campaigns influencing a consumerism drive, significantly influenced members of this generation to strive to be different from their parents and rebel in new ways, whether through punk rock or grunge music, yet while rebelling against the elders, conforming to their own cliques. Entering the workforce, this generation struggled through economic recessions and through being let down by the lack of employment promised by college administrators

<sup>1</sup> Wilcoz, 2009. Data verified with Center for Disease Control.

and professors.

Generation X is responsible for triggering the culture wars. An inflated self-esteem and fundamental distrust of institutions led to a shift from a focus on programs and policies to inner discovery and gestures of empathy. Generation Xers became known as the generation of “slackers”, “lazy”, etc.

From the late 1980s to early 1990s, the culture wars became a dominant component of the zeitgeist. What it meant to live 'the American life' or even fundamentally 'be American' divided the country's opinion. Cultural diversity and sensitivity grew in popularity, but not without an increased fervor of the opposition, fearing the loss of liberty and tradition with the increasing demographic shift. Three primary divisions separated the country – a separation which has increased significantly as evidenced by the co-existing election and support of Donald Trump's stated populist agenda and massive protests in the streets – multiculturalism vs. traditionalism, secularists vs. evangelicals, and central planning vs. free market<sup>1</sup>.

This is the oldest generation with any significant involvement in the Antifa movement, through early street battles with the skinheads during the height of the punk rock scene, to present, where some Generation X professors and young administrative staff provide support and facilitate organizing of organizations in the Antifa movement, such as Professor Bill Mullen of Purdue University and the Campus Anti-Fascist Network<sup>2</sup>.

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1 Strauss & Howe, 1997: pg 203.

2 Professor Mullen did not respond to any emails or phone calls requesting an interview and could not be reached during office hours.

## The Millenials

Generation Y, now called the millennials, are individuals born between 1981 and 2000, becoming adults in the early millennium. This generation, at the time of writing, spans everyone from individuals in their mid-30s, to their younger counterparts as young as 17. Given that this generation has not yet reached the beginnings of mid-life as a whole, nor even adulthood for many of the younger members – especially considering lack of job opportunities impeding separation from parents, either in a financial or physical (living in same home) sense, acting as a mechanism extending childhood.

The culture wars of the 1990s have further divided the country, with the side of multiculturalism, secularism, and central planning appearing to have won after the election of President Barack Obama. An extended economic recession left many individuals discontent, and these discontents expressed their displeasure through massive grassroots support of Bernie Sanders, a Democratic Party primary challenger whose policies are more in line with European-style socialism than other Democrats, and Donald Trump, current Republican president whose stated platform and policy recommendations are considered detestable by not only establishment Republicans, but also many traditional conservatives as well. The neo-liberal candidate Hillary Clinton required extensive financial assistance and publicity to defeat the grassroots support of Bernie Sanders, and the neo-conservatives of the Republican Party outright failed in the Republican Primaries (i.e. Jeb Bush, Lindsay Graham).

The Millennial Generation replaced the old order Judeo-Christian doctrine with a mishmash ideological doctrine of diversity of a variety of non-traditionally American cultures being a net-positive for the nation, the oppressed of society require additional assistance to achieve equality of outcome, etc. This generation highly values acceptance of others of different cultures, race / ethnicities, gender identity and sexual orientations, and also heavily criticizes those who disagree with the challengers to these views, engaging in social ostracism, campaigns to defund and destroy business entities and individuals, and other activist activities are considered not only socially acceptable, but heavily encouraged.

## Discussion

History is not an exact science, and various explanatory mechanisms are not designed to be infallible predictors. The various temporal models seek to explain historical events as related to the passage of time, and while numerous examples can be provided which seemingly falsify the cyclical model, other events occur seemingly rhythmically. Wars are followed by periods of peace, and at first, enough people are alive who remember the hideous aspects of war to influence the continuation of peace with peaceful resolutions to conflict. When enough of the war survivors are deceased and subsequent generations attain positions of leadership, the motivation for peace even in cases where sacrifices must be made as a result lessens, increasing the likelihood of a total war.

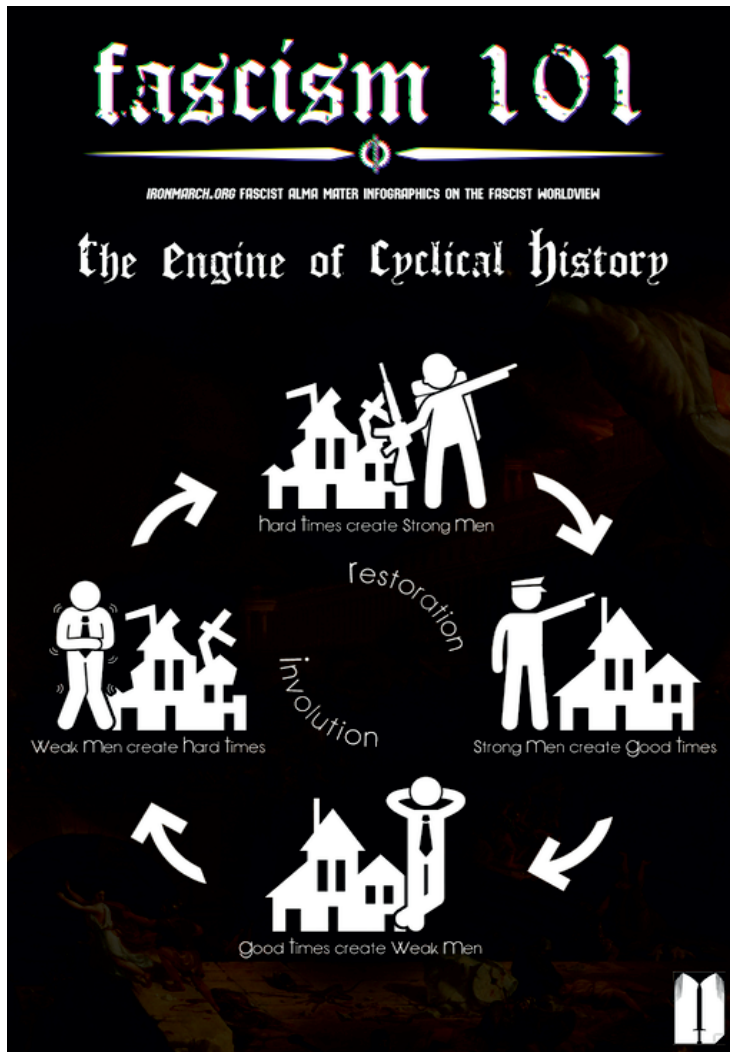
This also appears to happen with generations of wealth, where a frequent pattern is the first generation earns the wealth, the second generation maintains the wealth, and the third or fourth generation, through reckless financial management and a lower degree of work-ethic than previous generations, loses the acquired wealth, resulting in potentially a fourth or fifth generation growing up under difficult circumstances, which may, like the first generation, be a motivating factor for working hard and being miserly. This is not always the case, but it occurs frequently enough in society where everyone has likely heard the saying, “The first generation builds the business, the second generation makes it a success, and the third wrecks it”. Smith (2015) provides statistics from a compilation of studies finding on average, seventy percent of assets are lost between the initial generation and inheriting second generation, and ninety percent of assets are lost by the third generation.

One potential explanatory mechanism for the apparent cyclical nature of large-scale involvement in political activism is the **recession-war-protest-counterprotest model**, where an economic recession acts as a catalyst for deterioration of international relationships, which results in large-scale military conflict. As a result of intervention in the military conflict, as well as members of society having less opportunities for quality work and feeling oppressed during wartime by implementation of compulsory military service or by living under a more authoritarian government common during periods of war, leads to

heightened participation in activism and protest. Engagement in war as well as having individuals involved in political riots, which creates increased opportunities for engaging in criminal acts within the community, leads to nationalistic counter-protest movements.

Historians disagree on the role of temporality in the study of history, with essentially three camps emerging: cyclical, linear, and entropic. Linear views history as progressing forward on a time line, with each new event building upon the basis of the last. The entropic view would not necessarily deny the basic view of linear historians, yet undervalues the importance, given entropic historians perceive history as occurring as a result of randomness. Finally, the cyclical historians view history as occurring in cycles, waves – history having a rhythm which may explain the emergence of certain events or facilitate prediction of future events. The author is not taking endorsing any specific world view.

However, the cyclical interpretation of history yields interesting results when viewing historical events related to the anti-fascist movement – fascism and anti-fascism, frequently in the form of communism or socialism in the most recent century. As fascist elements gain power, anti-fascist elements rise up to challenge the power acquisition, as well as attempt to gain power for themselves. When the fascists emerge victorious, the anti-fascist elements are driven underground, where over a period of time, the anti-fascist elements gain strength, eventually toppling fascist elements and gaining power for social programs and “leftist” causes.



Depiction of the cyclical interpretation of emergence of authoritarian regimes<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Obtained from /r/DebateFascism Reddit page, with original source: IronMarch.org.



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# **Chapter II:**

## **International Roots of**

### **Modern Antifa**

#### **Introduction**

For historians of fascist and antifascist movements, numerous events have been identified as potentially the “first” case of fascism, and the countering movement in opposition – the first antifascist movement. Depending on how fascism is defined, and which influencing aspect(s) are considered important, a movement or leadership from the Roman Empire could be construed as fascist in nature (i.e. populist uprising in Rome). If the goal of this manuscript were to be a comprehensive source on the historical antecedents of fascism, we would definitely include Caesar, aspects of ancient China, and even specific movements within Native American Indian tribes. However, for brevity's sake, we must identify a specific movement, or set of movements, which serve as a valid point of reference – a movement or event which encapsulates enough similarity as well as served as an actual influence to Italian Fascism or derivatives, to be useful as a starting point.

## The Dreyfus Affair



Photo of Major Alfred Dreyfus<sup>a</sup>.

*“Far above men, far above their passions, far above their errors, stands France; she will be our final judge.”<sup>1</sup>*

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a Image obtained from Vanished Empires blog at <https://catdirtsez.blogspot.com>.

1 Quote from Halasz, 1977, from Captain Alred Dreyfus's diary – August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1897.

## Introduction

The historical intersection of anti-racist and anti-fascist ideologies in response to a rise in antisemitic and early fascism, at least in Western Europe, is the Dreyfus Affair, a battle between anti-semitics and anti-prejudiced activists, between historic progressives and conservatives, between those in favor of the Republic and those in favor of the monarchy. This latent antisemitism has been a subject of historical debate, extending to present day. The trajectory of events, capitalization on events by the elites, and the responses of society-at-large, provide important insight which is still applicable in present-day.

The Dreyfus Affair refers to two sets of events from late nineteenth-century French history: the events leading up to and including the trial of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, or the period of battles between anti-Dreyfuards and Dreyfusards from the late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century. In this section, the discussion will utilize a definition of the Dreyfus Affair as followst: the battle between opposing belief systems revolving around the trial of Captain Dreyfus.

Antisemitic tensions within France were not wholly triggered by Captain Dreyfus's trial. In 1840s France, the ethnic Jewish population figures were relatively insignificant, with exact numbers debatable, ranging from as high as 70,000 in 1840<sup>1</sup>, prior to a mass immigration from Russia after state sanctioned pogroms<sup>2</sup>, to as low as 67,780 in 1890<sup>3</sup>, post-immigration. Cooney (2005), based on historical demographic records, estimated 120,000 new Jewish arrivals over the half-century post-1840, equating to a 1890 Jewish population of 190,000<sup>4</sup>.

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- 1 Population estimate quoted from Cooney, 2005.
  - 2 Pogroms are organized, typically officially encouraged or enforced, massacres or persecutions of minority group(s). This term typically refers to massacres or persecution directed at ethnic Jewish people.
  - 3 Population estimate quoted from Jacquet, 2012.
  - 4 The 1890 total population of France was 38.4 million. Utilizing this figure, the percentage of the total population that was ethnic Jewish ranged from as high was 0.49% (based on Cooney, 2005) to as low as 0.18% (based on Jacquet, 2012).

Despite ethnic Jews encompassing such a minuscule minority of the population, public opinion of Jewish-origin people shifted in a negative direction, facilitated by the release of the first antisemitic newspaper in 1881 entitled *L'Anti-Juif*, the two volume essay *La France Juive: Essai d'histoire contemporaine* by Edouard Drumont<sup>1</sup>, and four major factors: growing opposition to the Third Republic by monarchists, Catholics, and the military, theories of racial science purporting Aryan superiority, influx of Jewish immigrants, and economic failures including the collapse of the Panama Company and the Catholic banking system. Jacquet (2012) asserts the antisemitic views were only a major issue of concern in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, as a result of harsh economic and social reforms of the Republican government. However, this is not universally agreed upon, as Cooney (2005), Wilson (1973), and others assert the Republican government was a major target of criticism of antisemitic groups.

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1 Drumont blamed the problems faced by French people on Jews, even problems dating back to medieval times. He also predicted an influx of over 500,000 Jews into France, which would still be only 2% of the total population of France.

## Persons of Interest

Clemenceau, Albert – attorney for Emile Zola  
 Drefus, Col. Alfred – officer falsely accused of espionage  
 Du Paty de Clam, Major Mercier – Member of General Staff  
 Walsin-Esterhazy, Count Marie Charles Ferdinand – French infantry officer and German spy  
 Gonse, General Charles – Deputy Chief of General Staff  
 Henry, Lt. Colonel Hubert Joseph – forger of anti-Dreyfus documents  
 Labori, Maitre Fernand – Attorney for Zola and Dreyfus  
 Leblois, Maitre Louis – Attorney and confidant of Piquart  
 Picquart, Lt. Col. Geroges – Discovered petit bleu as head of the Intelligence Bureau of the General Staff  
 Schartzenkoppen, Lt. Col. Maximillian von – German officer who employed Esterhazy as a spy  
 Zola, Emile – writer who defended Dreyfus and wrote *J'Accuse*



## The Dreyfus Trial

Captain Alfred Dreyfus was born 1859 in Alsace, to a family of relatively comfortable financial means. Dreyfus was a motivated student, graduating from Ecole Polytechnique in 1880 and appointed second lieutenant following graduation. In 1892, he attended and subsequently graduated ninth in his class at Ecole Guerre – the French War College. Dreyfus was known to be very patriotic, ascribing higher importance to his country than his Jewish heritage.

The Dreyfus Affair emerges as a result of an espionage letter regarding classified French activities, delivered to the German embassy, and subsequently stolen and provided to French authorities in mid-September 1894. This intercepted letter, named *le bordereau*, is believed to have been written by Major Count Walsin-Esterhazy. However, the writer of the letter was unknown at the time. Captain Dreyfus was first suspected of espionage and treason on October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1894, which set forth the series of events leading to the Dreyfus Affair.

On the morning of Monday, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1894, Captain Dreyfus was summoned to appear at the French Ministry of War, in regards to an ongoing investigation of an intercepted letter, “*le bordereaux*”, written by an unknown French Spy to the German Military attaché. Commander Paty de Clam and three other inspectors ordered Captain Dreyfus to copy the letter, for the purpose of graphology. Captain Dreyfus hesitated, then began copying the letter, trembling while the four inspectors scrutinized him. His anxious affect and associated mannerisms resulted in a conclusion of culpability, and as a result, Captain Dreyfus was arrested, deported to Cherché-Midi prison until his court hearing.

On December 19<sup>th</sup> of 1894, Captain Dreyfus faced court-martial and was found guilty by jury. Some historians believe the jury was full of individuals who were antisemitic or sympathetic to antisemitic groups<sup>1</sup>. Dreyfus was sentenced to life imprisonment and exile on Devil's Island of the French Guiana. During his trial, Major Henry of the General Staff took the stand and stated he possessed proof beyond a reasonable doubt of Dreyfus's guilt but was unable to disclose this

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1 Jacquet (2012) purports the claim, supported by historical recounts, of the jury having an antisemitic bias.

information due to potential national security concerns. While on the stand, Major Henry exclaimed, “He's a traitor!” and pointed in the direction of the accused Dreyfus<sup>1</sup>. An envelope was handed to the jury during deliberations, of which the contents were not revealed to Dreyfus or his attorney.

In 1986, General Picquart, after following Esterhazy and opening his mail, discovered handwriting similarities between *petit bleu* and *le bordereau*, as well as other intercepted documents and observations of two separate visits to the German Embassy without specific orders to do so provided evidence for Dreyfus's innocence and the potential guilt of Esterhazy. A review of Esterhazy's military record included assessments which stated Esterhazy was a brave soldier of “shady character”<sup>2</sup>.

Picquart confided in his attorney, Leblois, regarding the discovery. Leblois subsequently contacted Scheurer-Kester, Vice President of the Senate, who urged caution in the matter. Picquart reported his findings to his superior officer, General Charles Gonse, who ordered Picquart to drop the matter. After additional attempts to press the matter, Picquart was reassigned to a station in Africa. He wrote a letter expressing the potential guilt of Esterhazy to Prime Minister Henri Brisson, and was subsequently recalled, tried for forgery and disclosing classified information, found guilty, and imprisoned. Picquart would not be the last person to bring forth information of Esterhazy's guilt.

A stock broker, reviewing the published documents in a nationalist newspaper, discovered the handwriting was of a debtor of his: Esterhazy. The stock broker informed Captain Dreyfus's brother, Mathieu, who on November 14, 1897, denounced Esterhazy for high treason. During this period, Major Paty de Clam provided the press with stories regarding the corruption of the “Jewish syndicate” capitalizing at the expense of the native French, and that Picquart was bribed by the syndicate to release forged documents espousing Esterhazy's guilt.

On January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1898, Emile Zola, an author, published *J'Accuse* in defense of Dreyfus. Zola proved to be one of the most historically well-known Dreyfusards, influencing the eventual trial by

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1 Halaz, 1977.

2 I.b.i.d., p. 18.

jury for Dreyfus. As a result of Zola's outspoken criticism, he was sentenced to one year in prison and died in an accident shortly after his release.

Dreyfus was brought forth for trial by jury with the Supreme Court in 1899, retaining Labori as Chief Defense Council. On the first day of trial, Labori was shot. The trial resulted in a guilty verdict, significantly influenced by the court's refusal to disavow the Army. This trial was partially successful though – his life sentence was reduced to a ten-year sentence. During this general time period, Major Esterhazy was also tried and with the coaching of Paty de Clam, found not guilty. However, a nationwide publication unearthed a letter from Esterhazy to his widow, where he professed his contempt for France. This influenced the Army to modify its approach, considering serious reprimands for him. Before he could be further questioned, Esterhazy fled to England, where he resided until his death in 1923, where he died penniless and alone.

Following the trial, the government reviewed the Dreyfus trial documents. During this discovery phase, an official discovered multiple forgeries by Major Henry, who when brought in for questioning, admitted guilt, was arrested, and committed suicide in his cell that night. A collection for the widow of Major Henry proved to be highly successful, a sign of significant antisemitism in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century. Other abnormalities were discovered, as well as a lack of evidence of Dreyfus's guilt. In 1906, Dreyfus was declared innocent and reinstated into the Army with promotion. Picquart became General in Clemenceau's cabinet. The actual guilty parties went unpunished by the legal system.

The actual writer of *le bordereau* was Esterhazy, who appeared for the first time at the German Embassy to offer his services to Schwartzkoppen on June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1894, and the following day provided documents regarding potential Russian campaigns. He returned a week later to request two thousand francs per month for his service, which it is unsure whether he was granted this request or not. In the autumn of 1894, *le bordereau*, as well as papers regarding the Madagascar expedition, were provided to Schwartzkoppen.

## Discussion

The Dreyfus trial brought the Jewish Question into the public discourse, dividing the press and most of the nation into two groups: the Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. This division continued after Dreyfus was found innocent and exonerated. Society no longer has “Dreyfusards” and “Anti-Dreyfusards”. However, the “Dreyfusards” actions and ideologies are similar to that of the Antifa movement, and the “Anti-Dreyfusards” share much in common with the neo-Nazi and reactionary movements.

The “Jewish Question” continues to be discussed amongst the likes of Richard Spencer, Dr. David Duke, and others, and Zionist conspiracies are rampant on the Internet. The target of Zionist conspiracies tend to be international elites, especially world bankers, a class also despised by Black Bloc anarchists and the core of the Antifa movement. However, the leftist anti-globalists tend to label this class not as Zionists, but as a bourgeois class which exists in direct opposition to the proletariat (working-class). Despite blaming the same exact set of individuals for committing essentially the same acts against the same people, and also prescribing the same tactics – a militant displacement of power, the Zionist explanation rooted in ethnic-racial theory and mysticism is perceived as being prejudicial by those on the left who ascribe to Marxist theory.

Despite Captain Dreyfus's exoneration and reinstatement to the military, anti-Dreyfusards continued their campaign, some infuriated by the decision. While visiting the mausoleum of Emile Zola, Dreyfus was assassinated. The shooter was subsequently found not guilty by reason of insanity. Despite living a difficult life, Dreyfus continued to place his nation, its people, and military in high regard.

A bronze statue was constructed in celebration of the legacy of Alfred Dreyfus. This statue continues to be a controversy. In 1985, Defense Minister Charles Henry and Culture Minister Jack Lang were able to agree on construction of a statue honoring Dreyfus. However, the former wanted it at the site of former Ecole Polytechnique, while the latter wanted it at the French Military Academy. Prime Minister Jacques Chirac was influential in the statue being placed in a remote location, close to his burial site but away from tourist areas, and also

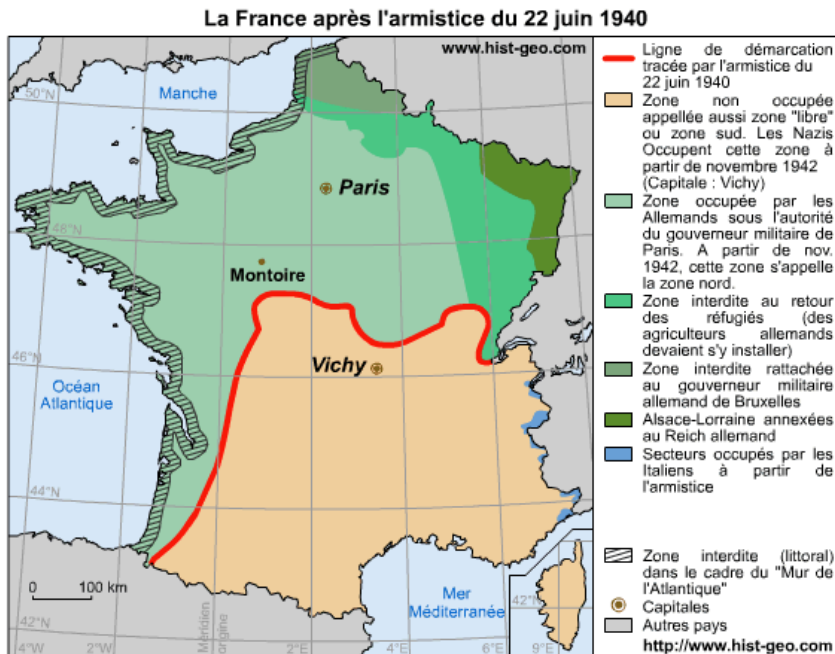
rejected a bid to have Dreyfus's remains transferred to the monument of French heroes, where Emile Zola's ashes are held.

At the time of the Dreyfus Affair, it was generally accepted knowledge by many within society that the Jewish people were contributing to a decline in socioeconomic conditions for the native French. However, a study of governmental policy, economic trends, and population density all show the impact of the Jewish immigrant was minimal, at best. However, members of society, as well as political figures, have a tendency to look for an easy source of blame to point to, and the Jewish people served this purpose in the late nineteenth-century. Despite having a modicum success overall within French society, the Jewish people were generally restricted, or had greater difficulty, from attaining certain political positions and careers.

The reactionary opposition to the Antifa movement generally discusses immigration as detrimental for the safety and economic well-being of working-class Americans. Amongst many factions within the reactionary right, violence within the Black community is discussed thoroughly, providing racial theories based on IQ, genetics, and environmental factors, to explain the reasons for this violence. Once again, none of the core issues here would be flatly denied by the Black Bloc anarchist and Antifa base. However, a class-based explanation would be provided, with a shift in focus to the violence committed by the police and other oppressors against the oppressed classes.

Similar to the Dreyfus Affair, where the most appropriate target should have been corrupt politicians and exploitative businessmen, the modern-day fringe movements both have the same general issues, yet fight each other instead of the common source of the socioeconomic and political issues. Consider the potential for change the reactionaries and revolutionaries temporarily united for change, waiting until after the corruption of the elite is adequately addressed to battle each other, instead of fighting each other over their respective attributions of blame and proposed solutions?

## French Resistance



Map following Nazi Germany-France armistice<sup>a</sup>.

*"At the other end of my street, before I even reach the bus stop, there is a stone plaque on the front of an ordinary two-story house. It reads, "Raymond Langlois was born here on June 30, 1922. Arrested for resistance on October 13, 1940, he died for France while in deportation, on December 15, 1943, at Auschwitz." In other words, three months into the fascist period, 18-year old Raymond acted against the regime in some way that is probably not known to anyone on my street, and so they took him away, they used him as a slave for three years, and then they murdered him."<sup>1</sup>*

The French resistance was a unique movement, in the sense of

a Map from histo-geo.com. The blue-green section refers to occupied territory (occupied by Nazi regime), and the tan section is the Vichy France regime locale, governed by Marechal Petain.

1 Quoted from Helm, 2014.

its plethora of modalities of expression, ranging from active militancy to passive cultural combativeness, and the unexpected velocity of division into two major factions within France: the Vichy-Nazi collaborators and the resistance movement. Arguably, a third faction existed, consisting of the majority populace who behaved seemingly apathetic, likely from shock and fear, failing to act in support of the resistance while despising the Vichy-Nazi regime.

The sheer number of various resistance groups, for adequate in-depth discussion, would require a full work on the topic. For brevity's sake, we will delve into the major factions relevant to the history of Antifa, providing a brief overview sufficient to explain the antifascist movement within France, for comparison purposes to modern-day Antifa movement.

The war between sovereign France and Germany was deemed a near impossibility, with French officials believing Hitler would respect the neutrality of Belgium, as well as believing the border between France and Germany was impenetrable. This may have been a valid position, had it still been the World War I-era of military technology and strategy, and also if the enemy was an honest enemy combatant. However, German troops invaded vis-a-vis Belgium, and the German troops advanced through the border barricades with a surprising degree of ease. The French were unprepared, with tanks disbursed amongst various bases instead of having a unified tank battalion, planes on military bases without pilots, pilots on military bases without planes, most of the planes were far from the front-line, and the bulk of the soldiers were unready for battle and lacked the proper mindset<sup>1</sup>.

The German invasion of France began on May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1940, and by June 14<sup>th</sup> of the same year, the French government capitulated. From this point until the liberation of Paris towards the end of World War II, northern France was Nazi-occupied territory, leaving southern France under the control of a centralized, French regime in Vichy.

The regime of Vichy France is frequently overlooked in popular historical conversations, with the focal point typically being the struggle of England, France, eventually the United States and Soviet Union, and other allied forces versus the axis powers led by the Nazi regime. This, however, overlooks the divisiveness within France: the Vichy regime

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1 Folker, 2011

and the numerous industrial and military collaborators with the Nazi regime who sought to be figureheads within the “New European Order”. A brief discussion of the Vichy regime is necessary prior to delving into the various factions of resistance organizations.

Vichy France was led by French World War I hero Marechal Petain, an individual whose initial public perception was positive – an opportunity to buy time to regroup against the Nazi regime. This proved to be false: Petain was interested in collaboration and profiteering from the war. French industry collaborated with the Nazi regime, with German contracts valuing 1.5 billion reichsmarks (\$375 million USD) in 1941, gradually increasing over the next few years of the war<sup>1</sup>.

By July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1940, the new Prime Minister, Pierre Laval, sent an air squadron of Vichy France to fight side-by-side with the German Luftwaffe. By July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1940, the first of many harsh antisemitic laws were passed. A significant portion of the French joined the Axis forces. The communists, socialists, anarchists, Catholic Democrats, and others rejected the Vichy regime, resisting the fascist regime through utilization of various tactics.

The primary figurehead associated with the French resistance is Charles de Gaulle, although the prominence of his influence is largely contested. De Gaulle fled France for the United Kingdom following surrender and attempted to organize a resistance force and form a government-in-exile called “Free France”. On June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1940, De Gaulle aired a famous BBC broadcast to his fellow Frenchmen, called “l'appel du 18 Juin”. He also published *The Brazzaville Manifesto*, a charter for Free France. While De Gaulle's actual influence is likely grossly inflated, his representative Jean Moulin, who was sent to France, proved to be at least somewhat influential in unifying the resistance.

The formal “Gaullist” and liberal Republican resistance constituted a variety of individuals and groups. The most prominent within this category was likely the Maquis, who numbered approximately 35,000 in 1943, growing to as high as 80,000 in 1944<sup>2</sup>. The Maquis operated independently of the Free France resistance – in many cases, to its own detriment. This is evidenced by failed attempts

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1 I.b.i.d.

2 I.b.i.d.



to seize German military strongholds and emerge victorious in battles, despite being a general nuisance to fascist forces. One member of the Maquis was quoted as saying, “Every spark of the resistance was extinguished within a matter of days. Nobody remained to bury the seven hundred slaughtered pistol-fighters apart from a few horrified civilians”<sup>1</sup>.

Moulin attempted to organize various resistance factions under *Mouvements unis de Resistance* (MUR). This was not the only attempt at organizing the resistance, with right-wing anti-Vichy factions attempting, rather unsuccessfully – even by comparison to other attempts at structuring the resistance – under the *Organisation Civil et Militaire* (OCM). OCM was founded by Maxime Blocq-Mascart, which allied with “*Defense de la France*” under the *Conseil National de la Resistance*. Other French-origin resistance groups attempting unification to varying degrees included *Combat*, one of the largest groups consisting of 15,000 militants in September 1942 – a relatively significant number of members relative to other groups at the time – which grew to 80,000 militants by June 1943. This group was founded by Henri Frenay and eventually merged with the *Liberation-Sud* – a mostly socialist group – and *le Front Nationale* – also known as *Francs-Tireurs et Partisans-Main-d'Oeuvrer Immegee* (FTP-MOI) – to create the *United Resistance Movements* (URM). URM received limited support from the Soviet Union following Hitler's violation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact.

The French resistance would have likely failed, or at minimum would have taken much longer to succeed, if not for the assistance of the British and United States. Strategic groups developed by the British military attempted to strengthen the resistance, through campaigns of recruitment, attempts at constructing a unified front, and by providing troops in battle.

The *Special Operations Executive* (SOE), a British military intelligence organization, attempted to infiltrate and organize the French Resistance. *Jedburg* parties, each consisting of three people, one of each nationality: British, French, and American, were created and deployed by the *British Special Air Service* (SAS), with the expressed goal of assessing the strength of on-the-ground resistance. In areas populated densely by

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1 Rings, pg. 246

individuals friendly to the resistance, the goal was to organize and motivate activities of resistance against the Vichy regime and Nazis.

The Special Operations Executive (SOE) was a British military intelligence organization which attempted to infiltrate and organize the resistance. The Brits, French, and Americans, with one member of each nationality in each party, deployed the Jedburg parties, a construction created by the British Special Air Service (SAS). These are just a few of numerous examples of outside assistance received by the French resistance, and even then, heavy casualties by native French resisters were common throughout occupied zones.

The French resistance consisted mostly of groups consisting of socialists, Catholic Democrats, army officials who refused to acknowledge the validity of Vichy rule or Nazi occupation, anarchists, communists, etc – a rag-tag bunch of mostly religious individuals, far-left militants, and loyal military officers of the French Republic. Despite the claim of protracted war or increased likelihood of defeat without outside assistance, if the French people who did resist had capitulated to Vichy-Nazi, the likelihood of total defeat by 1945 would have been less likely as well. Military officials, religious individuals, socialists and anarchists perceive the world in drastically opposing ways. However, these individuals were able to unite as a result of perceiving a common threat, a threat so dangerous that they set aside their differences and unified in battle against the common enemy.

Finally, albeit chronologically out-of-place, Agnes Humbert and the Groupe du musée de l'Homme deserve honorable mention. This resistance group was not particularly effective, nor long-lasting, given it was infiltrated early, with every single member being detained and shipped to work camps. However, this was one of the first resistance groups, and even after Humbert was imprisoned in a work camp, she continued her resistance activities, by purposely creating faulty products and damaging industrial machinery. Humbert and this group could have easily fled France for Britain, or even kept a low-profile during the occupation similar to many French citizens. The bravery of Humbert and her colleagues deserves recognition. While it required bravery to fight in this war after being drafted, the bravery required to stand up to one nation's military with one of the world's strongest military-industrial forces is one thing – the bravery required to stand up to a nation's military forces as an academic, when your own nation

considers you a traitor, requires a degree of bravery exorbitantly greater.

## The Zazous



Zazous yellow star<sup>1</sup>.

Resistance to fascism encompasses multiple forms, tactics, and sociocultural groups. Militant anti-fascism, albeit a necessity during wartime, was not the only form of resistance present in the divided, occupied France. The Zazous, a defiant youth subculture, influenced by American jazz and swing music and Hollywood Style, was one such group – a group who resisted by participation in a deviant subculture, a subculture which the Vichy regime and Nazi forces despised.

The Zazous males wore long suit jackets, with extra pockets and numerous half-belts, purposely excessive in rebellion of clothing fabric rationing laws set forth by the occupiers. Long-hair was common as well, defying the clean-cut look of the typical soldier. The women wore long curls, bright red lipstick, heavy makeup, short skirts, and shoes with thick wooden soles – another way to act in defiance of material rationing. The Zazous met in coffee houses, in the streets, and

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1 The Zazous, and other groups as well, began to wear the yellow star in defiance of laws requiring Jewish people to wear the yellow star. This image is from <https://libcom.org/history/1940-1945-the-zazous/>.

at parties located around the city, typically organized by word-of-mouth. Alcohol consumption and other activities deemed deviant and contributing to cultural degeneracy were common at Zazous gatherings.

Numbering in the hundreds, this movement was rather small, with a laissez-faire attitude towards the war. Despite lacking the effective militant tactics of other groups, the bravery of this group in rather peaceful defiance is commendable.

During the first two years of the Vichy-Nazi regime, the press viciously attacked the Zazous. However, the Zazous were typically left alone in the streets. After the Jewish population was sent to concentration camps, the Zazous were perceived as a more significant threat to the restoration of the values desired by the Vichy regime. The incremental inclusion of deviant groups on work camp lists mirrored that of Germany.

In 1942, the Jeunesse Populaire Francaise (JPF), a fascist youth movement, engaged in roundups and assaults of the Zazous. Armed with clippers in the early days of street conflict, the JPF would attempt to shave the heads of the Zazous. This resulted in widespread street battles between the Zazous and JPF.

Over time, many Zazous were sent to work camps. This drove the remaining Zazous underground. With the liberation of Paris towards the end of the war, some Zazous engaged in armed combat, joining Combat, the Maquis, and other militant factions.

## Confederation General d'Agriculture (CGA)

Support of unionized labor is common amongst Black Bloc anarchists and Antifas. The earliest individuals to battle fascism<sup>1</sup> were often socialists and communists, who aspired to organize the proletariat – the working-class – against the bourgeoisie – the ruling and business elite. This trend held true during the French Resistance, with one of many examples being Confederation General d'Agriculture (CGA).

Pierre Tanguy-Prigent organized CGA in 1943. CGA was relatively overlooked during World War II, failing to impact history as significantly as the Maquis, Western military forces, and other groups. However, similar to the Zazous, the form and tactics of CGA provide an example of historical and modern-day anti-fascist resistance, with CGA including many so-called far-left radicals including syndicalists, socialists, communists, and others typically deemed too radical for involvement in mainstream military alliances.

Prigent and others constructed CGA to rebel against Vichy France's corporation paysanne<sup>2</sup>. This structure and its associated policy changes, launched provincially from 1941 and finalized in 1943, failed to protect common French agricultural workers from the excessive demands of occupying forces. It failed to be effective in any other measurable domain as well. The CGA was not a leading military force. However, organizing the agricultural workers to resist proved effective at times, similar to the purposeful damage to equipment by industrial workers in work camps. CGA also secured a food supply for various militant groups. Without an organized food supply, it is nearly impossible for a military force to succeed, and as such, it is definitely debatable that the systems implemented through CGA, as well as similar systems within Catalonia during the Spanish Civil War<sup>3</sup>, do not receive the necessary coverage in mainstream history coverage of resistance against 1930s and 1940s fascism.

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- 1 This is referring to fascism as an officially named political doctrine, starting with Benito Mussolini in Italy.
  - 2 This refers to an economically corporatist structure of agricultural syndicates which privileged large farmers and landowners at the expense of small farmers and collectives.
  - 3 See Chapter 2 for coverage of specific groups participating in the Spanish Civil War.

## Anarchists

**SOLIDARITÉ  
INTERNATIONALE  
ANTIFASCISTE**

**AIDE  
IMMÉDIATE A  
L'ESPAGNE**

COMITÉ de PATRONAGE  
DE LA S.I.A.

René BELIN  
André CHAMSON  
Lucien CRUZEL  
Maurice DELEPHNE  
Georges DUWOUIN  
Auguste FAUCONNET  
Sébastien FAURE  
Gaston GUIRAUD  
Roger HINGNAUER  
Léon JOLHAUX  
Auguste LARGENTIER  
Robert LOUZON  
Vidor MARGUERITE  
Jean NOCHER  
Magdeleine PAZ  
Docteur PIERROT  
Georges PIOCH  
Maurice PIVERT  
Gaston PRACHE  
Paul RECLUS  
P. Paul RIVET  
Maurice ROSTAND  
HAN RYNER  
Vivier-MERLE  
Georges YVETOT

leloup  
37

SIÈGE CENTRAL 26.Rue de Crussol. Paris XI<sup>e</sup>

www.alamy.com - EJFBD0

The revolutionary, far-left militant branch of the French Resistance was composed of three main factions: anarchists, communists (Lenninist-Stalinists of Central Command and Trotskyists), and leftist socialists. For brevity's sake, as well as remaining focused on movements most pertinent to the progression to modern-day Antifa, the scope of this section

will encompass the anarchist movement, incorporating historical context regarding the communists and socialists only as pertinent to the anarchist movement specifically.

Anarchists object to the tyranny of the state, regardless of whether the state is ruled by socialists, communists, liberals, conservatives, centrists, or is a completely voter-based representative democracy of some form. Historically, anarchists refuse to take sides during wars, given the commonly-held view of wars being a battle between opposing elitists at the expense of the workers and commoners. However, fascism was deemed so tyrannical that some anarchists were willing to join forces in battle against it.

Many anarchists in France also fought in the Spanish Civil War. Conversely, many Spanish anarchists, most notably the anarcho-syndicalist group CNT, provided assistance against the Vichy-Nazi regime. This reciprocal relationship, albeit insufficient in and of itself to liberate France, did create enough trouble for the Vichy-Nazi regime to prove effective on a localized level. When the Republicans were defeated by the Nationalists, led by fascist Francisco Franco, in 1939, many anarchists fled to France to escape persecution. Many of these anarchists joined forces with other French anarchists in resistance against the Vichy and Nazi forces.

The greatest in number and (arguably) impact amongst the anarchist factions during the French Resistance were the anarcho-syndicalists, many of whom emigrated from Spain after Franco came to power. The official international anarcho-syndicalist position regarding war in general were as follows<sup>1</sup>:

1. "The war is a result of the capitalist system."

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1 Quoted from a secondary source: Damier, 2015. Key points of official position are in general agreement with primary sources from the time period.



2. “Responsibility for the outbreak of war lied with all countries. The large dictatorial states – Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan – were the main guilty... fascism was ranked as the “most brutal form of capitalism” and “enemy of mankind”.
3. “The war between nations should become a war between the classes. The international working class must begin with all the energy to eliminate capitalism.”

As evidenced from above, the official international anarcho-syndicalist perspective deemed both the Third Republic and Vichy regimes as enemies of mankind to be defeated. Also, war is a battle between power-hungry capitalists at the expense of the general citizenry. Many anarcho-syndicalists concluded that defeating fascism was absolutely necessary, by any means necessary, despite potentially fighting on the same side as other capitalist forces. Other anarcho-syndicalists believed that both must be destroyed, and a temporary alliance with any capitalists was unacceptable. A third position was likely most common, especially amongst Polish anarcho-syndicalist forces who were fighting against the Nazis, which was to battle against the Nazi forces on their own, not side-by-side or in any alliance with the “bourgeoisie” forces<sup>1</sup>.”

The division between libertarian anti-fascists and state-oriented anti-fascists impeded the ability for anarchists to present a united front against the Vichy-Nazi regime. Emma Goldman stated to a Detroit journalist on April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1939: “In a war between modern democracies and the Fascist powers, I do not believe that it makes much difference for the people involved who wins. The only difference is the difference between being shot and being hanged... modern democracy is only Fascism in disguise.”<sup>2</sup> This general point-of-view was relatively common amongst anarchists, as evidenced by quotes from other anarchists, including: “claiming to offer workers a way of protecting themselves from the horrors of fascism was used to enroll them as cannon fodder in the war” and “anti-fascism has never been a means for the proletariat to defend its class interests.. it's a vehicle for delivering up to the democratic bourgeoisie bound hand and foot”<sup>3</sup>.

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1 Damier, 2015.

2 Quoted from Lanneret, 1995.

3 Quoted from “Anarchism & Imperial War”, 2009.

However, many anarchists were able to set aside their moral objections to the authoritarian state of democratic form to fight against fascism. Jean Rene Saulieres (alias Andre Arru), led a coalition in southern France to organize the anti-fascist anarchist movement. A mini-congress was held in Toulouse in 1942 with a dozen participants. “War is worse than evil it was to combat” stated Arru prior to the Nazi invasion, expressing the pervasive attitude of left libertarian and evolutionary syndicalists. Arru went into hiding at the start of the war until he was able to obtain false identification, then moved from Bordeaux to Marseille under his new documentation with the name “Andre Arru”. Arru published numerous pamphlets and other anti-fascist propaganda throughout the war. He eventually arrested and imprisoned.

In March 1944, an escape attempt was launched at the prison where Arru was located – a successful prison break except for seven political prisoners, who were left behind by the group of mostly Stalinists and Gaullists Arru and the six others were left behind due to the Stalinists and Gaullists typically despising the anti-patriotic beliefs of the anarchist revolutionaries.

The Spanish-based CNT-FAI, an anarcho-syndicalist group, held the position that war against the fascists, even if aiding the authoritarian left or more centrist Democratic regimes was justified, given the immense evil of fascism. Fascism was perceived as a significantly greater evil than the previously thought “worst evil of them all” – capitalism. The CNT group of the Vidal network in the Pyrenees worked actively with Intelligence Service and the Central Bureau of Information and Action (BCRA) of de Gaulle throughout the war.

CNT-FAI played a significant role during the end stages of the war, including CNT-FAI maquis liberating the town of Foix on August 19<sup>th</sup>. According to Helm (2014), the first allied soldiers to enter Paris during the liberation front were 120 Spanish anarchists, led by Marechal Philippe Leclerc. Tank battalions including “Ascaso”, “Durruti”, and “Casas Viejas” were the first to enter the capital on August 24<sup>th</sup>, 1944. The 2<sup>nd</sup> D.B. was over sixty percent Spanish, including mostly anarcho-syndicalists with at least one entire company consisting of only Spanish anarchists.

## Post-WWII France

Individuals representing a plethora of political philosophies – mostly fringe or minority philosophies – unified in battle against the common enemy: Hitler and the Axis Powers. This perseverance should have been a sign of potential unification immediately following restoration of the French republic. The willingness to risk one's life and limb for the sake of the people should have brought, if nothing else, a greater opportunity for an increased diversity of political opinions in the republic – an opportunity for socialists, communists, and even anarchists to exert some, albeit proportionally limited, influence over sociopolitical affairs. However, Charles de Gaulle and other mainstream figures claimed responsibility for victory, implementing policies which continued prejudice against fringe political movements, nearly all of the radical left-wing form.

The post-liberation attitude of French society was one of celebrating de Gaulle and other military heroes, cementing their respective places in mainstream history textbooks. This was the case despite de Gaulle fleeing France for safety and the now discriminated against Spanish anarchists fleeing their country, after a costly war with Franco, to assist the French in liberation.

To the scholar of politics and history, this outcome is hardly unexpected, given the typical fringe perception of anarchists, as well as the anarchists oppositional attitude towards the state. Also, the anarchists were mostly able to set aside individual and group differences during the war for a greater common purpose: the removal of fascistic regimes from all of the French Republic. The unity of the war quickly evolved into competing factions, with the majority of anarchists returning to a pre-war state of relative obscurity.

One major anarchist group, Federation Anarchiste de Langue France (FAF) held a mini-congress in Angen in October 1944, leading to the development of a code of conduct and a hierarchical leadership structure. This group evolved into one with less in common with any form of traditional anarchism, to one which adhered to Communist Party principles. Many members left FAF as a result. Western Europe's unification against Nazism and Italian Fascism during the second “war to end all wars” quickly shifted towards unity – albeit less strong and

significant – in anti-communism, leading to further persecution of socialists of a variety of forms.

For the surviving fascists, anti-communism proved to be a successful strategy for advancing fascist agendas, under the guise of protecting society from the totalitarian aspects of the Soviet Union. Fascist-sympathizers, religious zealots, and ethnic-nationalist groups were able to operate in the open, advancing militant agendas in society and government.

## Arditi del Popolo



Battle flag of Artidi del Popoli

***“We curb the violence, of mercenary fascists. Everyone armed on the cavalry, of human redemption. This eternal youth, is renewed in faith, for the people who demand equality and freedom.”<sup>1</sup>***

Fascism and anti-fascism emerged simultaneously, as Benito Mussolini left the Italian Socialist Party to create his own political party and competing revolutionary socialist elements sought to ensure Mussolini's Fascist Party did not rise to power or prominence. This battle began in the late 1910s of Italy. Mussolini, the first to propose fascism as a distinct, separate, and formally defined form of governance, was met with opposition from the first anti-fascist group, a group named Arditi del Popolo (translated: “The People's Daring Ones”).

After World War I, the working class and peasants were advancing a collective agenda against the state, gaining improved wages, an eight-hour workday, and legislation allowing for contracts by worker's collectives. In 1919, the peasantry shifted towards militia-style

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1 Lyrics from one of many songs sung by the predominant anti-fascist force against Mussolini in the early 1920s, the Arditi del Popoli. This is an English translation from the original, which was sung in Italian.

tactics, organizing to seize land believed to have been promised to them through the Visochi decree of 1919. This decree did not actually promise each peasant a plot of land, as many believed, but only validated preexisting cooperatives. Worker's leagues attempted to organize labor unions to ensure utilization of the land for public good. By late 1919, numerous landowners and industrialists organized. The General Federation of Industry and the General Federation of Agricultural partnered together in a “holy alliance” to reassert control over labor unions, limiting the efficacy of the organized bourgeois and petite bourgeois class.

Mussolini took advantage of this situation by organizing anti-labor leagues, including his 'Fasci' and 'Combat Fasci'. Other leagues including the Anti-Bolshevik League, Umus, and Italy Redeemed, as well as members of the war volunteer corps, fought against communists, Marxists, and socialists in an anti-labor / anti-union movement. Siding with the anti-labor movement, many police departments and military groups participated in not only allowing firearm permits to the fascist groups – permits were not generally granted for workers, peasants, and organizers of labor – but also provided military-style training. By the end of 1921, the numerous anti-labor sects were organized into an organized, hierarchical militant group known as the 'Principi'.

The lack of perceived efficacy of the Italian Socialist Party and trade unions led to an organized militia of, for, and by the people: the Arditi del Popolo (AdP). AdP consisted of a variety of leftists, including anarcho-syndicalists, socialists, communists, republicans<sup>1</sup>, as well as other opportunists and idealists in favor of organized labor.

Unlike modern-day Antifa, which has a seemingly chaotic

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1 To the average American reader, the term “Republican” being listed with anarchists, socialists, and communists likely appears to be a mistake. However, the term Republican in the context of early 20<sup>th</sup> century southern European politics refers to a progressive political party. Not only were the Republicans a progressive party in Italy, the Republicans voted into power in the early 1930s in Spain, and fought against Francisco Franco's Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War, were also a progressive liberal party. U.S. politicians such as President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Senator Bernie Sanders would likely be considered Republicans in the context of Italy during this time period.

approach to tactics and a heterarchical structure, AdP formed squads of 10 members plus a leader, of which 4 squads created a company with a commander, of which 3 companies created a battalion with a separate commander. Retaining a degree of elasticity, which is present in modern day Antifa, AdP responded quickly to threats posed by fascist groups. These groups were organized throughout Italy, either independently or where possible, as a militant arm of various allied parties, including the Communist Party of Italy (Partito Comunista d'Italia (PcdI)), Lega Proletaria (associated with the Italian Socialist Party), Arditi Rossi (a paramilitary group in Trieste), Figli di Nessuno, and others. By the end of 1921, approximately 20,000 members were believed to have been active in AdP.

The first well-documented militant act carried out by AdP against the fascists occurred in Piombino on July 19, 1921. This was an offensive maneuver, attacking a known fascist meeting place and taking the fascists hostage. AdP was able to overcome the initial force of the Royal Guard, but after a few days and a gradually increasing number of police officers descending upon their group, AdP was forced to withdraw.

Renato Ticci, an important fascist militant leader, was captured in 1921, which resulted in an offensive attack by a group of 500 fascists. This resulted in a conflict between the fascists and AdP. The fascists suffered twenty casualties. The deaths were mostly attributable to the fascists downplaying the potential seriousness of the AdP threat, since similar competing groups frequently ran away or surrendered immediately.

Mussolini signed a pact with PSI to try ease tensions and end current conflicts. Members of both the PSI and CGL were coerced into leaving the AdP, significantly reducing membership. Unione Sindicale Italiana (USI) and Unione Anarchica Italiana (UAI) continued to support AdP. This persisted until July 1922, when the workers in the general strike were replaced by fascist placements. The final death blow to this movement was Mussolini's successful march on Rome, performing a coup d'etat and subsequently becoming the recognized Prime Minister of Italy.

## Antifaschistische Aktion



Antifaschistische Aktion logo<sup>i</sup>

The birthplace of Antifa proper is the Weimar Republic. In 1932, a German movement that called itself Antifaschistische Aktion (Antifa) emerged from the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD), or German Communist Party, with their first official rally occurring in Berlin on July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1932. The group formed for numerous reasons, including as a reaction to the increasing popular support of Hitler and the Nazi Party and frequent physical confrontations between members of the Nazi and Communist parties. We will begin by discussing the origins of the KPD to its creation of Antifa, then discuss Antifa and associated KPD elements from 1932 through the end of the war. Despite similarities in name, the purely communist origin of Antifaschistische Aktion differ from the libertarian socialist / left-wing anarchist influence on modern-day American Antifa.

Throughout history, the primary enemy combatants to fascism, especially in its formation and early rising, were communists. A formidable communist force in Germany developed during World War I, organized by Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and others. This

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<sup>i</sup> Author: M(a)nny. License: Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported



organization named the Sparticus League, named for Sparticus, a historical figure who led the slave uprising in the Rome Empire.

While generally insignificant in the course of World War I, the sparticists led uprisings following World War I, where generally two major options were being considered for the course of German government: social democracy (Weimar Republic) or soviet republic<sup>1</sup> (Free Socialist Republic of Germany). The most significant was the general strike and associated armed confrontations from January 4<sup>th</sup> through 15<sup>th</sup>, 1919, which was a battle between the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD), or Social Democratic Party of Germany and the newly formed KPD, formed from the Sparticus League and other socialists. The uprising by the sparticists ultimately failed. The SPD sent the Freikorps (Free Corps, a paramilitary force) to execute both Luxemburg and Liebknecht, whose executions ended the uprising. It also demonstrated a shift away from what is now referred to as Luxemburgism, a form of socialist thought more aligned with the original works of Marx. Luxemburgism rejects the totalitarian state and believed that workers rights held primary. The KPD began a shift towards Stalinism-Leninism following the execution.

In 1923, Ernst Thalmann became leader of the KPD, shifting focus from revolutionary action to campaigning for seats in the Reichstag. Candidates fielded by the KPD trended ten to fifteen percent of the popular vote, gaining one-hundred deputies in the November 1932 election. In the presidential election of November 1932, Thalmann received 13.2 percent of the total vote. By this point, KPD had already organized a paramilitary force in response to the Nazis.

The harsh competition occurred between the KPD and SPD from 1918 to Hitler becoming chancellor and abolishing oppositional political parties, including the KPD labeling the SPD as promoters of social fascism due to a corporatist economic model and opposing proletariats dictatorships<sup>2</sup>. The KPD was not an all-inclusive party for

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1 The term soviet in this context, while sharing similarities in that both the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union and Spartacists were seeking implementation of similar systems, does not refer to an alliance with the Soviet Union. Soviets in this context refers to councils representing, or at least on the surface claiming to represent, the interests of the workers.

2 Social fascism, liberal fascism, and friendly fascism are all terms which have been used to deride the liberal-left since the 1920s, by a variety of

Marxists and socialists of all forms, either, given the rejection of Leon Trotsky and Trotskyism. Trotsky called for an alliance with social democrats, believing that an alliance was necessary for the stop of actual fascism. The KPD finally sought to create political alliances with the SPD and other political groups after Hitler's post-election outlaw of communism and mass arrest of KPD and SPD members. By refusing to set aside philosophical differences, the KPD, SPD, and other leftist group helped facilitate Hitler's relatively easy rise to power.

The history of Antifa's relationship with the SPD is rather mixed, with many historians equating Antifa solely to KPD, and as such, necessarily following the doctrine of the Communist International (Comintern). However, Antifa is portrayed as being a potential ally of the SPD – at least for the end goal of defeating Hitler and Nazism – on many anti-fascist history websites and in other writings.

Once new elections were held in 1933, Hitler was able to create an allegiance with conservatives to gain a majority, and one of his first actions was the “Enabling Act”, which allowed the chancellor to pass laws contrary to the constitution. At this point, the KPD had already went underground, leaving parliament out of necessity – the members would have been arrested. Only the SPD voted against the Enabling Act, which was subsequently passed into law, and shortly after, trade unions were expropriated and disbanded. This essentially destroyed the Marxist labor movement, driving the remnants underground.

During the reign of Hitler, approximately one-third of KPD members were imprisoned, most of which were sent to concentration or death camps. Many anarchists and others sympathetic to their cause were also sent to camps. Given the lack of clear documentation regarding specific numbers or uprisings against the Nazi party by Antifa and other anti-fascist groups, it is unclear how many individuals were put to death under the Nazi regime. However, the various anti-fascist and labor groups were one of the largest, most significant internal threats to the Third Reich during Hitler's reign of power.

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opposition parties, including both conservatives and socialists.

## Edelweiss Pirates



Photo from libcom.org.

The Edelweiss Pirates are a rather controversial collection of anti-Nazi youth movements, whose various members were known for a flower pin typically worn on the collar. Membership comprised mostly of youths between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, of German heritage, and middle- and lower-class socioeconomic status, who lacked the social prominence for attendance at secondary school. Members were frequently semi-skilled or unskilled factory workers, who rejected membership in the Hitler Jungen (Hitler Youth), forming their own social outcast groups who frequently traveled to the countryside on weekends, in spite of Nazi regime restrictions prohibiting secret organizing and travel. Historical debate on the purpose and importance of the Edelweiss Pirates varies, including opinions ranging from the youth being nothing more than propagators of juvenile delinquency to being brave, steadfast resistance fighters against the Nazi regime.

Shortly after assuming power, Hitler banned all social groups – with exception of some Catholic organizations to appease the Vatican – except for the Hitler Youth. Initial membership was approximately forty percent, with membership becoming mandatory in the late 1930s. When war preparations began, the older Hitler Youth were called up for military service, leaving the younger, secondary school-aged members in charge of similarly aged youth who were already working in physically-demanding industrial labor, creating social hostilities. Many youth recognized the inherent falsities of the propaganda, with one anonymous teenager stating, “Everything the HJ preaches is a fraud. I know this for certain, because everything I had to say in the HJ myself was a fraud.”<sup>1</sup> This increased youth opposition and animosity towards the Hitler Jungen, leading to further creation of oppositional groups.

The exact oppositional group names varied by region, including the “Farhtenstenze” (translated “Traveling Dudes”) of Essen, the “Kittelbach Pirates” of Oberhausen and Dusseldorf, the “Navajos” of Cologne, and other groups. During the early years of their existence, the Edelweiss Pirates were perceived by Nazi forces as being nothing more than simply rebellious youth, passing through a teenage phase. However, after numerous occurrences of violent street encounters between the Hitler Jungen and the Edelweiss Pirates, the attitude of the Nazi regime shifted towards more repressive, militant actions being taken. “For the past month none of the Leaders of 25/39 Troop has been able to proceed along the Hellweg or Hoffstrasse without being subject to abuse from these people”, stated a Hitler Youth report to the Gestapo in 1942. Counter-propaganda campaigns by the Edelweiss Pirates, including passing out leaflets, inscribing messages on walls, and other activities frustrated the Nazi regime. “There is a suspicion that it is these youths who have been inscribing the walls of the pedestrian subway on the Altebergstrasse with the slogans 'Down With Hitler', ..., 'Down with Nazi Brutality', etc. However often these inscriptions are removed within a few days new ones appear on the walls again”, stated a 1943 Dusseldorf-Grafenberg Nazi Party report to the Gestapo. Increasingly severe methods of punishment, up-to-and-including executions, were utilized to dissuade others from participation.

More than five thousand Germans were believed to be active participants in “Edelweiss Pirates” groups, with over half of the

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1 1942 anonymous quote from Organize! magazine, listed in references.

members residing in the Cologne area. The Cologne Edelweiss Pirates formed coalitions with escaped prisoners of war, criminal elements of society, and soldiers who abandoned their positions in military campaigns. They raided army camps for weapons and explosives, participated in partisan attacks, and other militant activities.

Members of the Edelweiss Pirates were publicly hanged on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1944, for the assassination of a leading figure of the Cologne Gestapo, conspiracies to commit bombings on Gestapo headquarters, and other activities. The executed individuals were members of the Ehrenfeld Group, with at least six members associated with the Edelweiss Pirates, and the remaining seven of adult age, ranging from Communist revolutionaries to opportunistic street criminals. Despite varying motives and potentially immoral actions, the members of the Ehrenfeld Group were united against Nazism.



The public execution of a group of *Edelweisspiraten* in Cologne, 1944.

The public hanging of the Ehrenfeld Group, including 6 Edelweiss Pirates.



# Schuldig!

**GERICHTSHOF IN BEUTHEN:** „Der Arbeiter Pietzuch ist in grauenhafter Weise ermordet, geradezu massakriert worden“.

**GERICHTSARZT:** „29 Verwundungen, Halsschlagader vollkommen zerrissen, Kehlkopf — ein großes Loch — Hautabschürfungen durch Fußtritt — schwere Schläge mit stumpfen Beil über den Kopf“.

**ADOLF HITLER'S** Telegramm an die Mörder:  
„Meine Kameraden! Fühle mich mit Euch in unbegrenzter Treue verbunden! Eure Freiheit ist eine Frage unserer Ehre“.



Herzogshof und für den Inhalt verantwortlich: Ernst Schallin, Berlin — Druck: Weimarerische Buchdruckerei AG, Eisenach; Kober Ström 44, 342, 2238

## **Japanese Anti-fascists**

Anti-imperialism is a core tenant of the Antifa movement. During the 1930s and 1940s, Japan engaged in imperialistic campaigns, gradually seizing lands throughout Asia and implementing increasingly repressive legislation in the Japanese homeland. Emperor Hirohito was the leader of Japan during this time period.

The Japanese Communist Party (JCP) was the only political party providing significant opposition to Emperor Hirohito and his imperialistic policies. Founded in 1922, it was subsequently outlawed under the Peace Preservation Law and forced underground. Membership in JCP was dangerous, given the potential for imprisonment if convicted of sedition. Labor camps with high mortality rates and political executions were utilized as countermeasures against JCP and other opposition party membership. Following the Japanese surrender and subsequent American occupation at the end of World War II, membership in the party was decriminalized.

Susuku Okano led the Free Japan Movement, formally referred to as the Japanese People's Liberation Alliance (JPLA). JPLA provided siddent against the imperialistic rule of Hirohito and the atrocities committed by the Japanese military under his rule. This movement did not appear until 1944. However, smaller groups composed of JCP members and sympathizers were present throughout the Showa period.

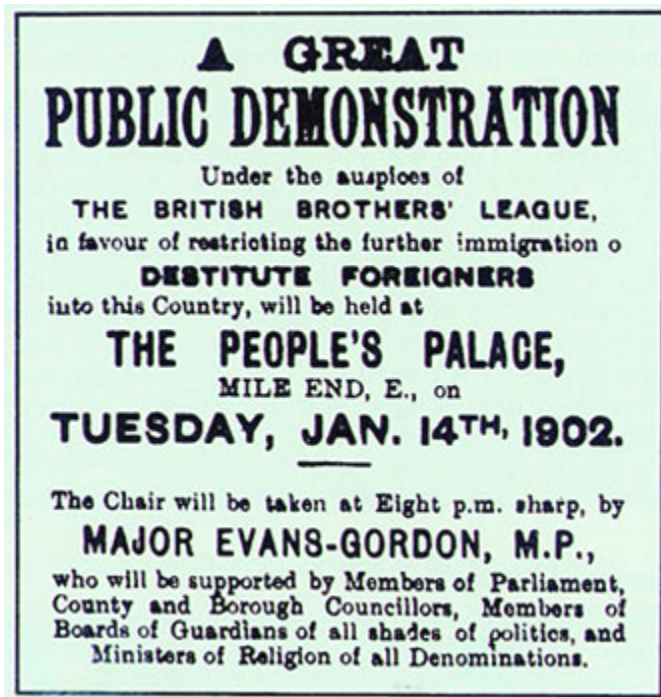
While outside of the scope of this book, other organizations opposed the militarism of the Showa period and fought in what was essentially a Japanese version of the anti-fascist movement. These organizations included the Japanese People's Anti-war Alliance, the Japanese People's Emancipation League, and the League to Raise the Political Conscious of Japanese Troops. Also, an anti-fascist newspaper was published in Kyoto, Japan, from July 1936 to November 1937 entitled Doyobi, translated to Saturday.

## **Early Fascism in the United Kingdom**

Fascism in the United Kingdom follows a similar trajectory to that of France and other Western European nations, albeit with one important exception: the United Kingdom survived the 1920's through 1945 without a fascist regime being elected into high office, nor did an outside fascist military force gain control over the nation or portions of the nation. The United Kingdom was not inoculated against fascism though, given the rather small, yet still significant, proto-fascist and fascist organizations that continue to present day.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, proto-fascist groups – including the British Brothers League in 1902 – formed in response to growing discontent with sociopolitical and economic conditions. These groups were typically composed of the bourgeois class, with hyper-nationalism and economic protectionism central to their doctrines, and the blame for sociocultural degradation and reduced economic growth ascribed to the immigrants – primarily immigrants of Jewish heritage. The “anti-alien” doctrine was able to rally a small sect of society, with Western nations observing the advances of the Jewish immigrants and difficulties faced by resident nationals. “Britain for the British” banners flew proudly in their few gatherings. However, the BBL eventually disbanded in 1923 favor of other political causes.





A BBL call-out flyer for one of the first public meetings.

The study of World War II-era fascist organizations of the United Kingdom typically focuses solely on Sir Oswald Mosley, with his New Party. The New Party evolved into the British Union of Fascists (BUF). However, Mosley's BUF was not the first openly fascist organization in Britain. The first openly fascist group, the British Fascisti (BF), emerged in the early 1920s. Rotha Linton-Ormon provided a significant portion of the funding for BF. Public perception of Linton-Ormon's funding of British Fascism was very mixed, with many individuals

Significant portions of society rejected fascist ideology. Irish Catholic workers, Jewish immigrants, and the working-class generally despised fascism, given its platform advocated for the marginalization of the working-class through militant tactics and protectionism for corporate interests diametrically opposed to the working-class's desired socioeconomic advances. The radical left, including anarchists, communists, and socialists, wholeheartedly rejected fascist propaganda

and organizing, engaging in oppositional militant tactics from its inception. The more mainstream left, consisting of Labour Party members and other liberals, abhorred the Mussolini-esque political ideology and tactics of the BF, but for the most part, abstained from public organizing and counter-propaganda campaigns.

Infighting and clashes with oppositional groups led to the demise of the BF. In 1926, BF splintered into two factions due to lack of groupwide support for strike-breaking, with one faction refusing to become involved due to a desire to not alienate the working-class. Declining membership numbers in the early 1930s combined with organized opposition led to the demise of BF. One such gathering in October 1932 was quickly broken up, when communist and anarchists militants, overwhelmingly outnumbering the fascists, infiltrated a public meeting and engaged in violent opposition. By the time Hitler came to power in 1933, the BF was insignificant in the British fascist movement.

The National Fascisti (NF) formed as a result of the splintering of the BF, committing nighttime raids of Communist Party (CP) headquarters and engaging in limited street fighting. In 1926, a meeting at Hyde Park was abruptly ended as a result of anti-fascists rushing the platform. In 1927, anti-fascists violently disrupted a Marble Arch meeting – an action which occurred in response to the NF attacking an International Class War Prisoners Aid meeting. The downfall of the NF was not as much due to anti-fascist organizing as it was corruption: embezzlement accusations and corruption led to the dissolution of the NF in the late 1920s.

Anti-fascist organizing in the 1920s was rather limited in scope as well as intra-group organizing, with the CP, labor leaders, and anarchists training sects of paramilitarized groups, yet abstaining from full-scale assaults. Groups such as the People's Defence Force held a pacifist approach to anti-fascist organizing, despite organizing as a paramilitarized force. The National Union for Combating Fascism (NUCF) upheld a more explicitly militant doctrine. However, NUCF still failed to have a large-scale impact, with participation limited to local altercations with British fascists.

Another group, the Worker's Defense Corps, which later became the Labour League of Ex-Servicemen, also contributed to

battling fascism, from a somewhat more mainstream left (non-communist, non-socialist) ideological approach. When Hitler assumed power in Germany in the early 1930s, the CP and others increased organizing efforts in an attempt to protect the United Kingdom from the spreading scourge of fascism.

The success of the pre-BUF, pre-Third Reich anti-fascist movement in the United Kingdom is debatable. On the surface, efforts were seemingly successful, given anti-fascists were able to organize greater numbers and disrupt numerous events with relative ease. However, the NF, BF, and other fascist organizations require some credit for this as well, given the widespread corruption and scandals having a negative impact on recruitment. If the fascist movements had been more organized and less corrupt, more resources would have likely been dedicated to anti-fascism by socialists, communists, progressives, anarchists, and others.

## Opposition to the British Union of Fascists (BUF)

***“The British Union of Fascists was not in its origins a working class movement; it was composed of lower-middle-class men who resented inequalities and lack of opportunities under capitalism; they also feared the prospect of repression of individualism under socialism.”<sup>1</sup>***

The above quotation mirrors modern-day neo-fascist, neo-reactionary organizing, which utilizes individual fear of loss of freedom from a tyrannical, repressive government to its advantage in recruiting new members. The common complaints from rank-and-file members of reactionary groups do not differ greatly from complaints from anarchists and members of revolutionary groups, especially older members: corrupt international banking practices, lack of pure democracy, oppression of the working-class, imperialistic wars, etc. Reactionary groups differ not in problem identification, but attribution of blame: immigration, racial and ethnic minorities, Islam, Zionism, homosexuals, and transgendered persons all utilized as targets for attribution of blame.

The British Union of Fascists (BUF) emerged through leadership of Sir Oswald Mosley, evolving from the splintering of the New Party. A more thorough discussion of the BUF is available in Chapter Four. This section will focus on the anti-fascist aspect of the rise and fall of the BUF.

With the rise of Hitler and the perceived successes of Mussolini, fascist movements emerged throughout Europe. In the United Kingdom, the most prominent movement was the BUF. Labor organizers, socialists, Jewish people, and communists formed an organized front against the BUF, frequently outnumbering the BUF by five-to-one. The BUF relied heavily on the police for protection, resulting in anti-fascist militants not only fighting against the BUF, but also against police forces – police forces who were perceived to be protecting fascism at the expense of the working class and immigrants. While frequently winning the physical altercations, the combination of anti-war stances of both parties and disruptions resulted in legislation against political organizing and imprisonment of both left-wing radicals

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1 Quote from Nicholas Mosley's *Rules of the Game*. Quote obtained from M.

Testa's *Militant Anti-Fascism* and verified accuracy from origin source.

and right-wing reactionaries during World War II.

Anti-fascists formed a unified force against Mosley, with even the pacifist organizers engaging in violent action, at least in self-defense. During a 1931 Glasgow meeting of the BUF, fascist organizers and anti-fascists engaged in physical conflict, with the anti-fascists arming themselves with rocks, razors, and other weapons. Mosley was struck in the head with a rock during this event. In 1932, a meeting at Memorial Hall in Farringdon, London ended in mass brawling, likely related to the openly antisemitic rhetoric espoused during the event. At St. Pancras, left-wing militants attacked organizers, ending the speech earlier than planned. At a 1933 Oxford meeting, anti-fascists threw chairs and attempted to mount the platform, and in response, Mosley's blackshirts retaliated with vicious attacks, leading to a negative public perception of Mosley and the BUF. Mosley and the BUF organized election campaigns with very limited success. The poor showing in elections is likely due to a combination of anti-fascist organizing and counter-propaganda campaigns,, and a historical acceptance of immigrants in the United Kingdom.

## Battle of Cable Street

The “Battle of Cable Street” is one of the most well-known anti-fascists fights against the BUF in the 1930s, with opinion of its long-term efficacy mixed: some researchers, typically those sympathetic to modern-day Antifa, provide it as an example of the usefulness of an active anti-fascist movement, while statistics from others show that it led to increased antisemitism amongst fascists and other reactionary-leaning individuals.

On October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1936, over 100,000 protesters, organized by the Jewish People's Council (JPC), created obstructions in the path of a proposed BUF march. Anti-fascist activists stood in the path as well. Approximately eighty anti-fascists were armed and seventy-three police officers were injured during the march. The JPC organized the event, and despite widespread participation, the CP was reluctant to participate and provide support, fearing it would be perceived by the public as being disorganized and violent.

The Battle of Cable Street was initially successful for the anti-fascists, given it delayed the onset, and shortened the duration, of the march. However, as a result of anti-fascists being portrayed as violent by the media and BUF sympathizers, and the BUF members as victims, membership in the BUF grew between two- and four-fold in the following year. Until the end of the party as a result of a national ban, BUF gained support on an anti-war and antisemitic platform. Despite the upward trajectory in membership prior to the ban, Mosley was never able to win another election to public office. Other organizations emerged from the ashes of the BUF with little success in organizing until the late 1970s.

## Anti-Fascist Action (UK)



AFA in Action, Hyde Park – May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1989<sup>a</sup>

*“Three swaggering boneheads who demanded to know where the commies were to their dismay actually found some in the shape of 4 Red Action supporters. After an intense discussion one of the skinheads lost all sympathy from the motorists of West Kensington by lying in the middle of the road, blocking all traffic and generally making a perfect nuisance of himself.”<sup>1</sup>*

The modern American iteration of Antifa is largely based on Anti-Fascist Action (AFA), a broad anti-fascist organization with its roots in the United Kingdom (UK). AFA was initially organized in 1986 – in Liverpool – for the purpose of combating the British National Party (BNP). BNP is an organization perceived to be a more right-wing, extreme nationalist splinter group from the National Front (NF). According to “Steven” on Libcom.org, “Wherever fascists were

a Photo is from a Blood & Honour gathering. Photo credit: RedActionArchive.org

1 M. Testa (2014), pg 124.

unopposed, they carried out campaigns of violence against ethnic minorities and working class organisations.”<sup>1</sup>

Red Action formed from former members of Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The Central Committee (CC) ruled the actions of certain members were too overtly militant and subsequently revoked memberships. Red Action members were primarily militant socialists and pro-Irish Republicans. Despite revocation of SWP membership, Red Action members continued to support a similar ideology to the SWP. However, for the Red Action members, militancy, not advocacy and public discourse, was a necessary means to the end goal of a worker's democracy.

After forming in 1982, early street battles between Red Action militants and right-wing skinheads and sympathizers occurred in a variety of settings, including at newspaper stands in Chapel Market and throughout the rest of London, Liverpool, and other major British cities. One such Red Action event, the Greater London Council (GLC) festival in 1984, resulted in brawls between Red Action and right-wing skinheads. Nicky Crane and other right-wing skinheads rushed the stage while a communist-sympathetic skinhead band – the 'Redskins' – played their set. As a result of being outnumbered, Red Action utilized striking miners from the community as fellow combatants, driving out the skinheads when Nicky Crane and his aforementioned “bonehead” goons attempted a second attack, while another band – the Hank Wangford Band – played, utilizing empty bottles and other items as improvised weapons.

According to Red Action reports, Nicky Crane attempted to utilize a nearby woman – a left-wing activist by the reports of concert attendees – as a shield while being pummeled by anti-fascists. Shortly after this event, Crane was observed at a local skinhead bar bragging about his battle scars. This resulted in Crane and his fellow boneheads being attacked yet again. This battle of skinhead factions was common in the 1980s punk rock scene, both within the United Kingdom and internationally.

AFA was organized in July 1985 at Conway Hall, in response to a growing right-wing militant movement. Organizing under the

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1 Quoted from: “1985-2001: A Short History of Anti-Fascist Action (AFA).” Libcom.org, September 12, 2006.



umbrella of Red Action was decidedly unfavorable, given numerous supporters of anti-fascism who disagreed with the specific political ideology of Red Action. AFA sought to unify individuals and organizations who despised fascism, bridging Red Action members and other left-wing movements. Continuing the Red Action position regarding SWP's ineffectual actions against racial and homophobic attacks, AFA organized as a militant group with the goal of ending fascist organizing by any means necessary. Violent action against anyone spreading fascist ideology was deemed not only acceptable, but necessary.

Early AFA attacks were mostly retaliatory in nature. BNP and NF members attempted arson on *News from Nowhere*, a feminist collective newspaper, and vandalized the Wirral Trades Council. The AFA engaged in counter-offensive attacks in response, attacking BNP and NF headquarters, as well as BNP and NF members in the streets. The Socialist Party and SWP attended AFA events, reaping the benefits of AFA without having to engage in physical confrontations themselves. The division of tactics was beneficial for SWP and Socialist Party leaders, given plausible denial could be used as a defense – the AFA was a completely separate organization, composed of members who were barred from official membership.

AFA was not only a paramilitarized socialist group, fighting street wars against right-wing groups, but also engaged in its own event organizing. In 1986 at Remembrance Day in London, AFA organized its own demonstration of over two thousand participants, marching through the street and laying a wreath at the Centograph. This was in remembrance of the victims of violent fascist regimes. Despite this being a peaceful gathering, small groups splintered off to fight NF and other reactionary opponents, suffering early defeats in street battles. Later that day, AFA members cornered a group of NF organizers in a restaurant, which served as partial redemption for the previous defeat.

During the subsequent two years, additional precautions were necessary in the recruitment screening process, as a result of the widening divide between militant and liberal anti-fascists. The liberal anti-fascists, typically supporters of the Labour Party, differed ideologically from the Red Action core of AFA. Liberal anti-fascists, consisting mostly of middle-to-upper middle-class individuals, were appalled by the violent actions of militant anti-fascists, most of whom

were of the working-class.

The initial internal unity of AFA and reactionary groups deteriorated as the 1980s drew to a close. Increasing memberships coincided with increasing splintering into distinct subgroups with differing philosophies – with exception of willingness to utilize any means necessary to combat fascism. Intra-movement conflict amongst anti-fascists and fascists led to increased competition and utilization of counterproductive propaganda campaigns; instead of attacking the opposition, propaganda smear campaigns attacked other groups within the movement.

Searchlight publicized fictitious and misleading content regarding Class War, a revolutionary anti-fascist, pro-labor advocacy organization. Searchlight stated Class War was a fascist organization masquerading as leftist. Searchlight and others organizations utilized false rationalizations, lacking any substantial evidence, to malign Class War and other groups of differing ideological perspectives. Some anti-fascists even advocate for the expulsion of Red Action from AFA, given suspicions of Red Action being state-sympathetic. Newham Monitoring Project faced criticism as well, given its public perception of being funded by the Labour Party. As a result of competing factions, AFA regrouped under a more restrictive ideological framework, one which specifically recognized fascism as a fundamental problem emerging as a result of capitalism, with its role in class divisiveness and inequality of wealth distribution. This ideological framework marginalized middle-class liberal allies, who were deemed unreliable given their vested interest in protecting aspects of capitalism and the state.

Ideally – for fascists, that is – the authoritarian neo-reactionary front would have capitalized on this to increase membership and societal prominence. Immediate quantitative membership gains were mostly a result of a lack of adequate screening for quality candidates. This resulted in an increase in scandals. Nicki Crane, the previously mentioned anti-communist, concert-brawling skinhead leader, was outed as homosexual, living a secret life outside of neo-fascist organizing. Reactionary movements' strong aversion to homosexuality and sexual deviancy of any form was ignored in the case of Nicki Crane, given he remained a leader within the movement. Examples of embezzlement, domestic violence, and involvement in illicit business impeded advancement towards legitimacy as a distinct political party.

Emerging from the scandal-ridden late 1980s was the British National Party (BNP). The BNP attempted to reorganize a fractured neo-reactionary movement under the guise of non-violence, forming an official political party, which aimed to achieve societal reformation through the ballot box. Campaigns including the “Rights for Whites” rally, organized after two white men were murdered, and other public marches were utilized by the neo-fascist and white identitarian front. The reorganized right-wing front required a reorganized left-wing response, given street brawls were far removed from the public, and with new propaganda promoting the BNP as non-violent, the street brawls were utilized as evidence supporting the perceived rising scourge of the so-called violent left.

The 1990s marked the second, and final, iteration of AFA – one which would fight in specific causes or events next to other organizations, but maintained membership with a more highly focused, narrower political philosophy. Increasingly oppressive legislation, including prohibitions on public organizing and demonstrations, and increasingly more severe civil and criminal penalties for groups engaging in street violence, created a hostile environment for AFA organizing. The skinhead punk culture of the 1980s dwindled. The BNP and other right-wing groups campaigned against cultural degeneracy and in favor of a restoration of law and order, two campaign points that the Labour Party, for the most part, refused to challenge to any meaningful extent. The BNP continued to platform on hyper-nationalistic, anti-immigration policy proposals and propaganda, infuriating the AFA and other revolutionary groups. The BNP took pride in provoking leftist elements of society, but then claimed victim-hood status when subjected to physical assault.

Rank-and-file members of the BNP and allied right-wing organizations were by no means pacifistic, in spite of claims to the contrary. The anti-statist elements amongst the revolutionary left and continued anti-communistic propaganda, coupled with the BNP legally organizing, creating a semblance of legitimacy and respectability, resulted in legal consequences for AFA members typically significantly exceeding the same conviction for BNP members. Multi-year prison sentences were common. During a Bloody Sunday commemoration event in Kilborn, three AFA members attacked Nicki Crane, and as a result, eleven-year prison sentences were given to each of the members

for violent disorder and grievous bodily harm convictions. As the 1990s drew to a close, both AFA and BNP members engaged in violent acts resulting in injury, even if only to each other, were frequently given incarceration.

As the popularity of BNP waned, so did membership and participation in AFA. Fear of imprisonment, as well as the incarceration of prominent organizers, influenced declining membership in AFA. *Fighting Talk* continued publication through 2001, and numerous special interest groups have replaced the role of AFA.



D.C. - Denis Clifford, Red Action & AFA Activist

D.N. - Dessie Noonan, Irish Republican Socialist / AFA member

*Photo is from a pro-IRA Manchester Martyrs march, showing the willingness of AFA / Red Action to ally with IRA and organized crime members.*

## **U.S. Antifascist History**

The Dreyfus Affair marked the onset of dichotomous factions organizing against societal decline, along the lines of either blaming or protecting the Jewish immigrants. Given the evolution of antisemitism and anti-immigration to fascism, the Dreyfus Affair marks the onset of modern anti-fascism. No single event in the United States is quite analogous to the Dreyfus Affair.

Depending on perspective and scope, a variety of events dating back as far as two centuries ago have tangential connections to the modern-day American Antifa movement. Labor organizers against corporations, agrarian reformers against the business and political elites, and anarchists against the state in all forms, were present. A rise in worker exploitation related to industrialization, coupled with resentment towards the influx of Irish, Italian, and other immigrants, resulted in the formation of hostile, competing factions. In response to worker exploitation, a perception of widespread prejudice, and the emergence of anarchist and communist philosophy from the likes of Marx, Engels, Kropotkin, and others, an intellectual-based anarchist movement formed..

## McKinley Assassination

On September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1901, a Polish-American immigrant named Leon Czolgosz waited in line at the Buffalo Exposition for an appearance by President William McKinley. Security allowed Czolgosz admission, perceiving him to be a non-threatening, working-class mechanic or laborer<sup>1</sup>. Czolgosz quickly fired two shots from his revolver, striking McKinley both times. A third shot was interrupted by an African American male tackling him. President McKinley died eight after the assassination attempt – on September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1901 – as a result of contracting a blood-borne pathogen from the gunshot wound.

Czolgosz was promptly arrested and admitted guilt. He claimed to be a part of an anarchist conspiracy to assassinate President McKinley, led by Emma Goldman. Documents proving this conspiracy were tossed in the sewer prior to carrying out the assassination attempt<sup>2</sup>. Emma Goldman was subsequently arrested. At Goldman's first court hearing, Prosecutor Owens theorized Goldman, Cologsz, and eight others associated with Goldman's anarchist-communism movement conspired to assassinate President McKinley<sup>3</sup>. On September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1901, Goldman was summarily released due to lack of evidence.

The mainstream media attacked Goldman and her unpatriotic, anti-American values and political ideology. As an anarcho-communist, Goldman sought the abolition of the state in favor of communal ownership of property and means of production. Others claimed a conspiracy of Jewish-origin was to blame, a view which continues to present-day Zionist-focused analyses of the McKinley assassination. According to Bonn (2015), based on the work of Koerner (2011):

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- 1 Eric Rauchway, author of *Murdering McKinley*, on 2003 C-SPAN broadcast. Available on YouTube: "The Amazing History of Presidential Assassination Attempts: Anarchism (2003) – see chapter bibliography.
  - 2 The conspiracy documents were never recovered, and it continues to be a topic of debate amongst historians whether or not others, despite being apathetic or even holding favorable opinions of his actions, were actively involved in a conspiracy. The source of his claim is the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1901 edition of the *San Francisco Call*.
  - 3 The claim of Prosecutor Owens is mentioned in the New York-based *Evening World*, night edition, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1901.

*“Anarchism was a Jewish movement which played on legitimate grievances workers had with their plutocratic overlords. But anarchy's true goal was to pummel and attack Western governments. The murder of McKinley was only one in a series of regicides the anarchist Jews had perpetrated over the previous 7 years. Just the year before, anarchists murdered King Humbert I of Italy.”*

These sentiments continued, surging in the 1920s and 1930s, coinciding with the emergence of Fascism and Nazism in Europe. Similar to the Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards battling during the Dreyfus Affair years, anarchists and communists battled antisemitism, authoritarians, and propagators of prejudice – a battle that evolved into the antifascist movement.



## The Galleanisti

Emma Goldman and other anarchist and socialists intellectuals wrote extensively, primarily engaging in non-violent resistance. Violence should be directed towards institutions, not individuals, according to many leading anarchist philosophers, including Michael Bakunin. In cases where violence is deemed necessary, it should be utilized only as a last resort method for achieving movement goals. Luigi Galleani and his followers – appropriately-named the Galleanisti – advocated for the use of violence as a primary means for elimination of the bourgeois class. Individual action, not collectivist organizing, was Galleani's method of choice for resistance. Throughout the early twentieth century, the Galleanisti were linked to numerous acts of violence. Federal investigations ensued, increasing propagation of fear of communism.

The Galleanisti's membership included mostly working-class militants. Concurrent involvement in the Galleanisti and labor unions was discouraged – Galleani believed labor unions were fundamentally authoritarian and reformists by definition, and as such, were counterproductive to their cause.

Association with even the most revolutionary of labor unions was discouraged, unless it was for a specific revolutionary purpose.

From April through July 1919, members of the Galleanisti targeted members of the elite class, including politicians, businessmen, newspaper editors, and others. On April 29<sup>th</sup>, a parcel intended for Georgia Senator Thomas W. Hardwick was opened by his housekeeper, blowing off her hands and causing facial and neck burns, facial cuts, and loosened teeth to his wife who was nearby. The Attorney General of the United States, John D. Rockefeller, and others received an explosives-laden parcel or had a parcel intercepted with explosives before arrival. On June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1919, eight large bombs were detonated nearly simultaneously in eight major cities. This resulted in only one death: New York City night watchman William Bohner.

Other bombings have been linked to the Galleanisti, including the July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1916 Preparedness Day Bombing in San Francisco, resulting in ten deaths and forty injured, and the Wall Street bombing on September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1920, with thirty-eight deaths and three-hundred

injured. The result of these bombings was an intense government crackdown on anarchist and communist groups, especially the Italian anarchists.

In June 1917, Galleani and his printer Giovanni Eramo were arrested for conspiracy to obstruct the draft. The office of his chief publication, *Cronaca Sovversiva*, underwent raids shortly afterwards, and again in February 1918, leading to discovery of mailing lists of other anarchists and massive resultant arrests. On June 24, 1919, Galleani was deported to Genoa with eight of his closest comrades.

## Sacco & Vanzetti Trials



Nicola Sacco (left) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (right)<sup>a</sup>.

***"This man, although he may not have actually committed the crime attributed to him, is nevertheless morally culpable, because he is the enemy of our existing institutions." // "Did you see what I did to those anarchists bastards?"<sup>1</sup>***

By the early 1920s, the *red scare*<sup>2</sup> was in full effect. Massive discrimination campaigns were launched and legislation enacted against anarchists, communists, socialists, and individuals with related ideological beliefs. These individuals were barred from certain employment and in some cases, even placed under arrest. Two Italian immigrants who actively participated in the anarcho-communist

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a Image from libcom.org.

- 1 Quote from Presiding Judge Webster Thayer. Similar quotes were common throughout the mainstream media of the time. Please refer to the references for newspaper articles from the 1920-1927 period.
- 2 The "red scare" refers to the government's position of communism being a serious threat to American sociocultural well-being. Massive propaganda campaigns were launched, and individuals associated with "far-left" movements were investigated. This was likely at least in part related to a fear of a Russian-style revolution in America by the workers, as a result of poor working conditions, poverty, and public outrage regarding the war.

movement, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were arrested for the murders of Frederick Parmenter and Alexander Berardeli, two payroll guards for the Slater and Morrill shoe factory. Berardeli and Parmenter were declared dead by homicide on April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1920. Sacco and Vanzetti were subsequently arrested on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1920. Sacco and Vanzetti were followers of Luigi Galleani, discussed in the previous section.

Sacco and Vanzetti underwent a jury trial, each for murder and attempted robbery, with Vanzetti facing one additional charge for the attempted payroll robbery at Bridgewater on December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1919. Despite having seemingly airtight alibis, and other individuals being suspected yet conveniently being able to elude officials, both were found guilty of all charges. On August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti were put to death by electric chair, despite pleas from Sacco and Vanzetti, as well as the public-at-large, for an appeal hearing. This triggered mass demonstrations on an international scale, dividing society in a similar manner as the Dreyfus Affair.

The period leading up to the arrest and conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti involved the President Woodrow Wilson Administration, responsible for the *Espionage Act of 1917* and *Sedition Act of 1918*, whose enforcement led to imprisonment of anti-war activists, conscientious objectors, military deserters, and other individuals in opposition to the war. Individuals with viewed deemed anti-American were subject to harsh legal penalties and excessive terms of imprisonment. Sacco and Vanzetti were two of the most famous individuals on the receiving end of a staunchly anti-communist court system. Vanzetti received a fifteen year sentence for the attempted robbery conviction, despite this being a seemingly harsh sentence for a first-time offender. Legal historians continue to debate this case, with one of the most prominent theories being that members of the Joe Morelli gang and Celestino Madeiros were the actual culprits in this crime. In 1925, Madieros confessed to the murders, yet this was still not considered sufficient cause for a new trial.

Numerous celebrities protested the prosecution and subsequent execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, including individuals from diverse fields of expertise and political ideologies. Albert Einstein, in 1947 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of Sacco and Vanzetti's execution, stated, "Everything should be done to keep alive the tragic affair of Sacco and Vanzetti in the conscience of mankind. They remind

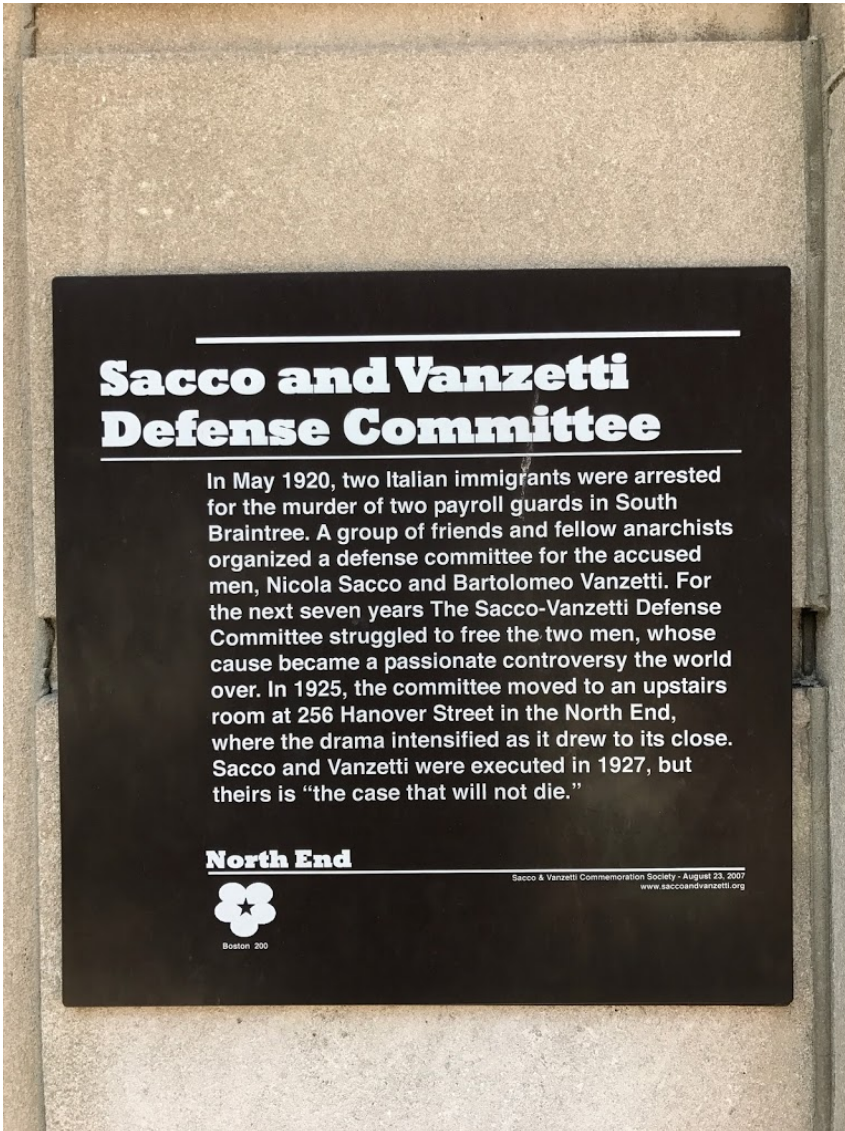
us of the fact that even the most perfectly planned democratic institutions are no better than the people whose instruments they are”<sup>1</sup>. H.G. Wells wrote an article following the execution entitled “Outrages in Defense of Order: The Proposed Murder of Two American Radicals”, which was denied publication but published in 1928 as part of a book including a collection of essays entitled *The Way the World is Going*. Even Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini expressed his sympathy, continuing to express his outrage to others as late as 1934<sup>2</sup>.

John Dos Passos is one of the most significant organizers in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, creating the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee. This organization raised funds for legal defense and provided legal advocacy as well as ensuring public awareness of the case.

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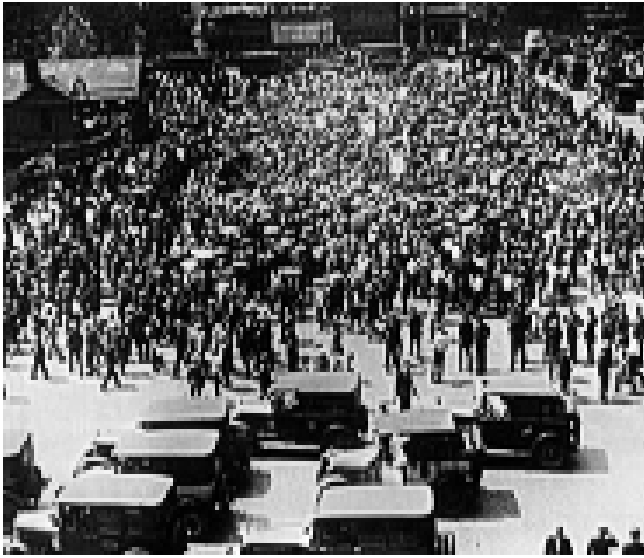
1 Quoted from Wilson, 2007.

2 Cannistraro, 1996.



Plaque at former location of Sacco and Vaznetti Defense Committee<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Image from RedThePlaque.com.



Union Square in NYC, 1927<sup>a</sup>.

Hundreds of thousands of protesters around the world objected to the executions of Sacco and Vanzetti. A riot broke out in London, resulting in forty injuries. The U.S. consulate in Geneva was surrounded by over five thousand individuals wearing black armbands in protest. In Paris, the army utilized tanks to protect the U.S. embassy as a result of massive protests. Protests were successful in bringing together anarchists, communists, and more mainstream liberals together for a common goal. However, differing approaches, as well as a significant influence of conservative media and conservatives within government, impeded success.

The differences between general approach in opposition mirrors current divisions within the anti-fascist movement. The radicals, including anarchists and communists of many forms, as well as far-left socialists, protest events such as this on the basis of the oppressive nature of the capitalist state, and as a result, the end goal of opposition is a destruction of state institutions – in this case, the judicial system – and replacement with a different system which varies depending on perspective.

However, mainstream liberals did not object to the state itself,

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<sup>a</sup> Photo obtained from libcom.org.

nor to capitalism – the state and capitalism were celebrated by many mainstream liberals. The case was opposed from a legalist-pragmatic framework and sought to find legal remedies utilizing the existing infrastructure to resolve the issue. As a result, as mainstream liberal support for Sacco and Vanzetti grew, the radicals were marginalized. Despite fighting on the same side – the “pro-Sacco and Vanzetti” side – the underlying issue being opposed by each party actually placed mainstream liberals and radicals in fundamental direct opposition to each other.



## Protest Photo Gallery



Protesters as seen in *SACCO AND VANZETTI*, a film by Peter Miller. A First Run Features release.





www.alamy.com - G9T6TT



## International Brigades



Design for the XV International Brigade flag<sup>a</sup>.

Spain divided into two competing factions, the left-wing Republicans and right-wing Nationalists, in 1936. The Nationalist's, led by General Francisco Franco, attempted to wrestle away control over the federal government from a Republican regime of mixed popularity, triggering the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. The Spanish Civil War and its opposing factions are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, under the section regarding Francisco Franco. It is important to note the relative unification of the Nationalists by Franco, who also received formal military support from fascist regimes including Mussolini and Hitler; the Republicans were divided into numerous competing factions, ranging from anarcho-syndicalists and other non-statist entities to authoritarian communism under the direction of Joseph Stalin. The lack of unity and increasing competition over power proved detrimental to the Republicans and their Popular Front government.

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a Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=585718>

Even in a situation where the anarcho-synicalists requested weapons and instead, human reinforcements were sent, triggered feelings of skepticism. The International Brigades were sent in lieu of formal military assistance from Western nations.<sup>1</sup>

The International Brigades consisted of approximately 30,000 members from 53 nations with no more than 20,000 active combatants at a given time. Approximately 10,000 members were in non-combat roles, and another 3,000 to 5,000 combatants as members of the anarcho-syndicalist group CNT or Trotskyist POUM. The Communist Party (USSR) and its affiliates were utilized for recruitment, with non-communists requiring in-depth interviewing by NKVD prior to joining. The International Brigade of Americans, called the “Abraham Lincoln Brigade” (ALB), consisted of approximately 2,800 volunteers, including at least 90 African Americans – two of whom were women. At least seventy percent of U.S. volunteers were communists lacking formal military training – only training fighting “anti-red” police squads or engaging in other activities of civil unrest. As a result, over thirty percent of American combatants were killed<sup>2</sup> in service to the Republican army.

The lack of military preparedness and support from the Western democratic nations significantly impaired the comparative efficacy of the Republican military. When the American volunteers arrived at the Jarama front, one of the first orders was to “dig in” – to dig their own spot on the trench for battle. However, the Americans were ill-prepared, lacking shovels or any other digging tools. The battle at the Jarama front was essentially “baptism by fire”, resulting in heavy losses for the ALB volunteers. Out of 450 volunteers, 120 were killed (26.7%) or 170 wounded (37.8%), an excessively high casualty rate for any armed conflict and morbidity rate greater than sixty percent for a single battle. Despite showing gallant effort and holding steadfast on portions of the line, the League of Nation's Non-Intervention Committee ordered in late 1938 that support of the International Brigades must cease, and as a

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1 Diego Abad de Santillan, a CNT militia leader, ordered his subordinates to stop any further international volunteers from entering the country in September 1936 (Durgan, 1999).

2 Statistics from Durgan (1999), Richardson (1982), and from the Abraham Lincoln Brigade's website. Information regarding lack of military training from Durgan (1999).

result, already declining reinforcements were ceased, with only a small proportion of International Brigade members opting for Spanish citizenship to continue participation in the conflict.

Despite being willing to take up arms against Franco and his fascist, monarchist, and other reactionary allies, not all of the Republican factions were perceived to be allies. Durgan (1999) and others provide the explanation of this war being less of a war for Spanish independence than a strategic opportunity for Joseph Stalin to improve public perception from Western nations for his own personal gain. This is evidenced by Communist Party tactics, including utilization of spies who not only gathered data on Fascist and Nazi-sympathetic spies, but also on left-wing revolutionaries. Foreign members of Communist security services, mostly NKVD agents, were utilized to collect data on potential dissidents or revolutionaries and even arrested anarchists, Trotskyists, and others. Orders were given in a top-down manner from Stalin, and at one point during the Spanish Civil War, Trotskyists were deemed to be disguised fascists. The polarization of left-wing factions led to in-fighting amongst the Republicans, ensuring an already improbable victory to become a near-certain defeat.

Upon returning to the United States, members of the ALB were met with a mixed reaction. The FBI labeled American combatants in the Spanish Civil War as “premature anti-fascists”, and veterans of the ALB who fought in the U.S. military during World War II were frequently discriminated against for promotions. Federal officials threatened to revoke citizenship from anyone who participated in the XV International and/or provided support for any organization or individuals tied to the Communist Party. Despite allying with Stalin's U.S.S.R. during World War II, upon cessation of conflict, the attitude towards the Soviets returned to the 1920s “Red Scare” attitude. In the following section on JAFRC, we will discuss the legal actions taken against this group, the JAFRC, and related groups in the post-WWII period.





Image of ALB combatants, from [albavolunteer.org](http://albavolunteer.org)

## Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC)

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC) formed in 1941 from related groups, including the ALB, to provide assistance to refugees of right-wing authoritarian nations. This group received public support and limited guidance from the federal government initially, acting as a tax-exempt non-profit organization assisting with immigrants from fascist regimes. JAFRC was founded by Dr. Edward Barsky, a medical volunteer during the Spanish Civil War, along with Dorothy Parker, who managed fund-raising, and others. Celebrities including Leonard Bernstein, Albert Einstein and Orson Welles supported the JAFRC. However, its ties to communism created hostility between the federal government and the JAFRC, leading to legal and discriminatory action taken against the organization, its members, and supporters.

Following World War II, the focus shifted away from Nazism and Fascism being central enemies, to left-wing revolutionary movements and anything seemingly tied to Stalin's U.S.S.R. or the Communist Party being ascribed the status of being a central threat to the "American way of life". Prior to the end of WWII, President Roosevelt expressed support of the JAFRC and organizations undertaking anti-fascist action assisting refugees, stating that Americans must continue "in [their] efforts to rescue victims of the Nazis and the Japs. We shall find havens of refuge for them, and we shall find the means for their maintenance and support until the tyrant is driven from their homelands and they may return"<sup>1</sup>. This attitude changed following the war, as a focus on destroying the "red scare" through legislative policy and militant police action resumed.

The beginnings of strict, anti-communist legislation can be traced to January 1946, with the House Committee on Un-American Activities opening an investigation on groups deemed subversive, including the ALB, JAFRC, and others. Leadership within the JAFRC refused to turn over membership and donor lists upon request, resulting in ten JAFRC officers being convicted of contempt of court and sentenced to imprisonment. In 1947, while not a direct attack on

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1 Quoted from newspaper article entitled "Virginia Wright" in the *Daily News of Los Angeles*, (CA), on January 31, 1945.

JARFC, the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, requiring union leaders to sign an affidavit stating no former or current involvement with the Communist party. Given the strong ties the labor movements had to communism, many leaders in the union movement were forced to resign. In 1948, the tax-exempt status of the JAFRC committee was revoked, which led to the eventual 1952 civil case brought against the JAFRC by the U.S. Department of Treasury, stating over \$307,000 in owed back taxes were due. Harassment from government officials led to the disbandment of the JAFRC in 1955, given the hostile environment's negative impact on ability to function towards organization's goals.



## **The New Left / Civil Rights Era**

Increasing public discontent against the Vietnam War, the emergence of “hippie” counterculture movements, and violent interactions between the police and minorities in low-income neighborhoods, coupled with certain strata of society lacking equal access to services and employment, influenced the development of revolutionary political movements in opposition to the reactionary, anti-communist movements of post-World War II. Many of these groups had doctrines influenced by Maoism, Trotskyism, Leninism, or actual ties to the Communist Party, while others were more progressive, aligning themselves more with left-of-center political parties.

Given the sheer number of varying movements and organizations, the focus of this section will be limited to two general movements: the Black Panther Party – with a brief discussion of the splinter organization Black Liberation Army (BLA), and a discussion of Leonard Peltier and the American Indian Movement. The Black Panther Party provides an example of a movement which combined militancy with community programs, and serves as an example of governmental infiltration and leadership conflicts leading to the demise of a movement. Many lessons can be learned from the Black Panther Party for the modern-day Antifa movement and associated movements.

## Black Panther Party



Front cover of *The Black Panther*, official newsletter of the BPP<sup>a</sup>.

The modern American Antifa movement focuses on a variety of issues tied to its specific definition of fascism, a common definition of fascism which focuses on racial or ethnic supremacy of one group over another, with a secondary focus on the capitalistic/corporatist elements of fascism. Many organizations which fall under the Antifa movement umbrella are subsidiaries of Anti-Racist Action, or are groups with a similar focus on combating racism through force. As a militant, anti-racist group advocating for the oppressed, many commonalities are

<sup>a</sup> Volume 3, No. 27. Includes image and quote of Kim Il-Sung. BPP was historically sympathetic with Maoist causes and practitioners.

shared amongst modern Antifa and the Black Panther Party (BPP), one of most well-known militant groups within the black liberation movement.

Malcolm X (born Malcolm Little) was one of the most influential figures in the black liberation movement prior to the emergence of the Black Panthers. Malcolm X reduced problems in the Black community to a lack of education, interest in international issues, involvement in community, and common shared identity based in history. Malcolm X spoke in favor of black separatism and against colonialism. The struggle between the black community and the white elite was a power struggle, a struggle that Black people could prevail if unified. Malcolm X adopted Islam, eventually converting to Sunni Islam. Frequently a target of personal attacks from other prominent Black Muslim leaders, such as Elijah Mohammad and Louis Farrakhan, he expressed fear of others having plans to assassinate him during his last few years..

On February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated, with Louis X commenting in such a way that appeared to be taking credit for the murder, yet he later clarified stating he wasn't actually involved. Malcolm X's approach to black activism, through a combination of militancy and community outreach, influenced the development of the Black Panther Party the following year.

Prior to the 1960s, anti-communism was equated to Christianity and morality in general. Communism was deemed unpatriotic, immoral, atheistic, and un-American. After the devastating effects of the Korean and Vietnam conflicts, the focus shifted to anti-war – a position advocated by many of the leftist groups in the country. New movements emerged influenced by the philosophy of Marx and Engels, and aspects of its adaptation by Lenin and Mao.

Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party in 1967, with Newton having six months of law school education and philosophical influence from Robert F. Williams, a militant revolutionary who took exile in China by Mao Tse-Tung's influence. The BPP openly admitted to being a pro-socialist organization with a strong influence from Maoism<sup>1</sup>, a variant of Marxism which includes analysis of the link between imperialist expansion and domestic

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1 Maoism will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

injustices, and their relationship to capitalism. According to Eldridge Cleaver, “the ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experience of Black people and the wisdom gained by Black people in their 400 year long struggle against the system of racist oppression and economic exploitation in Babylon, interpreted through the prism of the Marxist-Lenin analysis by our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton”<sup>1</sup>.

The BPP gained notoriety on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1967, when a group of thirty members entered a California legislative assembly, armed with firearms, to express their objections to the gun control laws at least in part directed towards the actions of the Black Panthers, who openly carried weapons for protection while observing police behavior and patrolling the community. All thirty members were subsequently arrested. However, this sparked a wide-spreading interest in the organization, leading to a surge in membership.

Understanding the need for direct community involvement to gain sympathy and support, as well as to direct issues including lack of access to medical care and adequate food, the BPP implemented free breakfast and medical clinic programs across the country. On a University of Stanford website, 65 programs implemented by the BPP are listed, including literacy and education programs, food and clothing programs, child care and work development skills, and numerous other programs devised to benefit the community.

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1 Quoted in Eldridge Cleaver's “On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party – Part I”, paragraph 1.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

*ANNOUNCES...*

## THE GRAND OPENING OF

# THE BOBBY SEALE PEOPLE'S FREE HEALTH CLINIC



SATURDAY  
APRIL 24th 1971  
2:00 P.M.

2226 Adeline St. Berkeley

A person's health is their most valuable possession. Improper health care and inadequate facilities can be used to perpetuate genocide on a people. The prison system, racist government used its facilities for that purpose -- the genocide of poor and oppressed people. The people must reject institutions within our communities that are controlled and run by the people in order to secure our survival. With this in mind, the Black Panther Party announces the opening of our first Free Health Clinic in the Bay Area.

**ALSO...FREE FOOD & CLOTHING ON OPENING DAY**

*For further information contact*

*Black Panther Party--Berkeley Branch*

*2226 Adeline St. Berkeley -- Phone: 840-1740*

*SERVING THE PEOPLE BODY AND SOUL*

**PANTHER COMMUNITY SERVICE**  
free breakfast for children is being  
served at St. Martin DePorres Recrea-

tion hall. Shown here pouring milk  
for three youngsters is Black Panther  
Warren Heart.

## FREE BREAKFAST IN BALTIMORE

## Counter-Intelligence Against the BPP<sup>1</sup>

Infiltration by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) into the Black Panther Party (BPP) was a significant catalyst to the downfall and demise of the movement. In 1956, the COINTELPRO (COunter INTELLIGENCE PROgram) was created by the FBI, as a means to investigate, infiltrate, and eliminate subversive organizations, with a focus on communist organizations. In 1967, with the rising civil unrest in African American and Native American communities, the S2 Unit, also called the Racial Intelligence Division, of the FBI began investigating and infiltrating African American groups deemed to be too politically radical. This unit collaborated with the Los Angeles Police Department's Criminal Conspiracy Division, the Chicago Police department, and other police organizations. This eventually led to the Church Committee investigations of the early 1970s, as well as the arrest and sentencing of individuals deemed to this day to be political prisoners by many.

Infiltration led by the FBI, utilizing numerous informants, led to paranoia within the BPP, and as a result, was responsible for social strife, division, and in extreme cases, murder.

In the late 1960s, FBI informants embedded in both the BPP and a rival California group "US" created strife between John Huggins and Bunchy Carter (BPP members) and the US. This culminated in US members going to the UCLA campus and murdering John Huggins and Bunchy Carter, two individuals deemed to be highly influential in the rise of involvement in the BPP.

Another case was that of the Panther 21, twenty-one BPP members who were arrested on the east coast for a supposed bomb plot, other conspiracy charges, and other felonies, leading to 156 total charges being leveraged against the group. Ralph White and Gene Roberts, the latter who was Malcolm X's bodyguard when he was assassinated, were arrested with the group, questioned separately, and released. It was later discovered that both were acting as FBI informants. The Panther 21 was later found not guilty on all 156

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1 Information in this section about specific FBI involvement verified by documents available publicly on the [fbi.gov](https://www.fbi.gov) website, under the Black Panther Party section.

charges and subsequently released.

Fred Hampton was an influential leader in the Chicago BPP movement. Unbeknown to Hampton, his primary security guard, William O'Neil, was an FBI informant, who drugged him one evening with secobarbital . At four o'clock in the following morning<sup>1</sup>, fourteen members of the Special Prosecutions Unit of Chicago Police Department officers broke down the apartment door, firing over twenty shots into the room of Hampton with his eight-months pregnant fiancée. A fellow BPP member reported hearing an exchange between two officers where one asked if he was dead, the other said that he was barely alive and will make it, and after two more gunshots, one officer said, "He's good and dead now."

Utilizing psychological profiles constructed of Cleaver and Newton, as well as sending letters written by FBI officials to Cleaver and Newton as if they were written by various BPP members, Newton decided to remove Cleaver as well as his international BPP chapter from the official BPP, creating a schism which divided the party.

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1 December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1969.

## Lessons to be Learned

When researching any social movement which is opposed to the government, or a large entity which is of interest to the government, it is important to accept the possibility of governmental infiltration, whether by local police, the FBI, other agencies and/or paid informants. In discussion with Antifa members from a variety of chapters, suspicion of infiltration was discussed. Groups involved in the Antifa movement have began utilizing intelligence gathering and research, secured messaging applications, more secretive meeting locations, departmentalized knowledge and other tactics to reduce the ability of a single infiltrator to discover plans. The degree of potential infiltration is related to the specific group's specific actions and goals, with more militant groups, who are more well-known, include more members, and are in larger communities, with these groups facing increased difficulty protecting against infiltration. Understanding the tactics utilized by governmental forces against the BPP can be utilized to construct measures to recognize current infiltration and combat against potential infiltration.

The BPP was well-known for community involvement, including free medical clinics, breakfast programs, free clothes, and other services. Given the militancy and ties to communism, especially given the typical American's fear of both given governmental propaganda campaigns, the free community programs helped with constructing a more positive image of the BPP. Similar campaigns utilized in such a way to draw media attention to both the stated goals of the organization, as well as the desire to assist the community, could be utilized to improve overall public perception of various Antifa movement organizations. However, this also creates a potential issue where the stated goals of the organization and its activities start to become too broad, resulting in a potential focus shift away from primary objectives.

Propaganda campaigns and infiltration may occur by non-governmental forces as well. One such example originated with 4chan and was subsequently included on numerous media sites, utilizing at least 324 different fake Antifa accounts to propagate on Twitter<sup>1</sup>.

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1 According to Antifa Checker on Twitter.



Evidence for this false flag operation is included below:

boards.4chan.org/pol/thread/138812582#p138826400

>> Anonymous (ID: qvH0De2K) 08/24/17(Thu)02:01:42 No.138826400 >>138826644 >>138826699 >>138826751 >>138826929  
File: 1.png (221 KB, 606x440)

**Ahnon Moose** @AhnonEMoose · 2m  
Heads up that /pol/ is running a disinfo campaign to associate #Antifa with domestic and child abuse. #punchanazi #4chan #bashthefash

boards.4chan.org/pol/thread/138812582/domestic-violence-meme-campaign-6

[Return] [Catalog] [Bottom] [Update] [Auto]

File: 1503534515987.jpg (195 KB, 600x693)

**Domestic Violence meme campaign #6** Anonymous (ID: oococob8) 08/23/17(Wed)23:26:44 No.138814161 >>138814442 >>138814549 >>138815704 >>138816296 >>138816595 >>138817075 >>138817322 >>138818166 >>138820739 >>138825113 >>138825632

>Get pictures - search "domestic violence">campaign" or "child abuse campaign"

>add something like "she deserves it for being a nazi"

>put on social media using hashtag PunchANazi

**Anonymous** (ID: oococob8) 08/23/17(Wed)23:28:55 No.138812789 >>138812860 >>138815903  
File: spank\_the\_fash.jpg (581 KB, 1200x661)

>>138812582 (OP)  
oh well

**Anonymous** (ID: oococob8) 08/23/17(Wed)23:29:42 No.138812880 >>138813021 >>138815903  
File: Antifa\_punch\_a\_nazi.jpg (164 KB, 620x539)

>>138812789  
and some more... keep it up and keep the OC coming

>>138812582 (OP)  
Someone is already trying to pop the lid.  
Bury the ta, worst case scenario we'll make it unusable.

Increased action in identifying fake Antifa accounts and patrolling a variety of social media platforms has been utilized to expose this propaganda. Additional false anti-Antifa campaigns will be discussed in its own chapter of Volume II of this work.

## American Indian Movement



One of the flags of the American Indian Movement<sup>a</sup>.

Another movement emerging in the era of the New Left which modern-day American Antifa displays influences from is the American Indian Movement (AIM), a militant movement for the protection of American Indian culture, heritage, and land, from the oppressive U.S. government founded in 1968. Rampant fund misappropriation, drug trafficking, and other illegal actions have been identified by many Lakotas, including those in the Lakota Solidarity Movement, stating the sources of the corruption and illegal activities are the Oglala Sioux Tribe (OST), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and opportunistic third parties profiting from the situation. The American Indian Movement charges the U.S. federal government with committing acts of genocide against the Lakota and other indigenous and minority peoples and taking political prisoners.

Despite lacking a clear-cut connection with the Antifa movement, this movement deserves discussion with the given its relevance to the policies and actions of the government which the Antifa movement and its allies purport to be taking action against, as well as serving as an example and learning experience of potential

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<sup>a</sup> Created by user 'Tripodero' on Wikipedia. Author releases work for public domain, for any usage. Please refer to American Indian Movement article on Wikipedia for more information.

issues with organized movements challenging federal authority. A tertiary reason for the inclusion of the American Indian Movement is because of the actions of support provided by Antifa, through its protest against the continued incarceration, and advocacy for clemency of Leonard Peltier, a martyr of the American Indian Movement.

Dating back to the early days of colonization of the Americas, the indigenous populations were considered by those in the power elite, as well as many commoners, as being an anathema. Forced relocation and massacres have occurred throughout the history of American Indian and colonist / American government relations. This is common knowledge. However, the continued heinous acts against indigenous peoples continuing into the 20<sup>th</sup> century is less well-known. According to a study by the U.S. General Accounting Office (1976), one-third of Indian Health Service regions sterilized a total of 3,406 American Indian women without consent between 1973 and 1976, a genocidal action which to this day the individuals involved have yet to face any significant consequences. This study also found 36 women under the age of 21 had been sterilized, despite a moratorium prohibiting such action<sup>1</sup>. Other studies have discovered morbidity rates for certain cancers, diabetes, hypertension and other cardiovascular diseases, and mortality rates significantly higher than any other region of the country. This is likely due to the prevalence of abandoned open pit uranium mines on lands adjacent to or very recently or currently designated for American Indians, including 2,885 mines on lands allotted to the Sioux in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty and 1,200 mines in Navajo country<sup>2</sup>. This accounts for more than 80 percent of uranium sites in the United States.

Similar to the aforementioned Black Panthers, the FBI and other outside investigative departments closely he watched the AIM, engaging in tactics of, at best, questionable ethics. In the early 1940s, the FBI replaced BIA special officers due to a lack of adequate appropriated funding and resultant funding cuts as a result of engagement in war: World War II. To the Lakota and other tribal

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1 Comptroller General of the United States. "HRD-77-3 Investigations of Allegations Concerning Indian Health Service." November 4, 1976. Retrieved November 3, 2017 from <http://www.gao.gov/assets/120/117355.pdf>.

2 Cline, 2013.

entities, this was seemingly a temporary relationship. However, in 1953, state legislation passed granting the FBI with primary investigative jurisdiction over violations of federal law, and state and local authorities with primary jurisdiction over local and state matters<sup>1</sup>. Distrust of the local, state, and federal officials created feelings of hostility, both for the preferential treatment given to non-Indians, and the lack of follow-through with investigations involving reservation residents, including accusations as serious as rape and murder being delayed.

In response to mistreatment from the U.S. Government, a coalition led by Richard Oaks (Mohawk) – named Indian of All Tribes (IAT) – occupied Alcatraz Island, citing a 1882 statue providing the establishment of Indian schools in abandoned federal facilities. After a nineteen-month-long occupation, a task force of U.S. Marshals launched an assault, leading to all participants arrested. Feelings of hostility continued, as the AIM formed officially.

During the summer of 1972, “The Trail of Broken Treaties” was devised, which was a plan to caravan to Washington, D.C. before the presidential election, where Nixon was seeking a second-term as president. A treatise entitled “Twenty Points” was devised by the group, outlining the demands for AIM. Upon arrival to Washington, D.C., a series of events unfolded resulting in the occupation of the national headquarters building for the Bureau of Indian Affairs on November 3<sup>rd</sup>. The Nixon administration agreed to not prosecute and to consider the Twenty Points for the return of the BIA headquarters; the headquarters was returned on November 5<sup>th</sup>. Missing documents and significant damage was noted. However, due to infiltration of the protest group by FBI agents, many of whom were especially militant and destructive to the point of receiving special Indian nicknames for their behavior, no charges were filed. It was likely too difficult to separate organic militancy from acts influenced by FBI provocateurs.

In early 1973, twenty-year-old Wesley Bad Heart Bull was stabbed to death by Darld Schmitz. Schmitz was charged with second degree manslaughter, a probationable charge which Schmitz was not ordered to any period of incarceration. AIM leader Richard Oaks organized an assembly on the courthouse steps for February 6<sup>th</sup>.

However, attendance was seriously impacted as a result of a

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1 PL-280 – Idaho state legislation.

Rapid City Journal reporter receiving a phone call on February 4<sup>th</sup>, stating the assembly was canceled as a result of poor weather conditions. An article ran stating the cancellation on February 5<sup>th</sup>. Only 200 AIM members attended, with roughly equal numbers of individuals with the local police, county deputies, state police riot squad, and FBI. After meeting briefly with the prosecutor, who refused to modify the charges, a riot ensued on the courthouse steps. Twenty-seven Indians were arrested, including Sarah Bad Heart Bull, the mother of the murder victim. Sarah was sentenced to five months imprisonment for her participation, a sentence significantly more harsh than Schmitz received for the manslaughter conviction. This trend of perpetrators of crimes against indigenous peoples receiving quantitatively (i.e. probation or incarceration length, monetary fine amount, etc) and qualitatively (i.e. form of punishment such as probation in lieu of imprisonment) less severe legal consequences than indigenous convicts was especially notable in the period in the 1980s and prior, yet continues to today.

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# **Chapter III:**

## **History of**

### **Modern U.S. Antifa**

### **(1980s to Iraq War)**

#### **U.S. Antifa (1980s to “September 11th”)**

The modern American iteration of Antifa emerged in the late 1980s, adapting and refining the Black Bloc tactics utilized by the Germans during the autonome movement earlier in the decade, and a variety of other leftist social movements from the 1960s onward. Influences ranged from the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement, to the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) and tactics utilized by a variety of communist, socialist, and union organizing groups. Modern Antifa emerged from an anti-war, anti-globalization movement – a movement to stand in solidarity with working-class Americans, the impoverished, ethnic and racial minorities, women, and anyone who is being oppressed by state capitalism<sup>1</sup>. A resurgence of neo-fascist reactionary organizations also served as a catalyst for a left-wing revolutionary response.

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1 Not everyone who participated in the Black Bloc or Antifa organizations were necessarily anti-capitalists. However, the general theme was, at minimum, that the government and multinational business were oppressing the American people. Some individuals were self-identified libertarians, progressives, and even centrists or independents who were simply against “crony capitalism”. The debate regarding whether capitalism always devolves into fascism and “crony capitalism” is a continuing debate.

## Birth to Pre-Seattle

The very first documented Black Bloc protest in the United States occurred at the Pentagon on October 17, 1988 with over one thousand total demonstrators – a smaller number being actual black-clad demonstrators of the Black Bloc. The purpose of this demonstration was to influence the Reagan Administration to cease support of murderous reactionary forces in El Salvador.<sup>1</sup> Organized by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, the demonstration helped draw attention to the issue-at-hand, disrupted early morning traffic, and blocked the main entrance to the Pentagon for a significant period of time.

Utilization of Black Bloc tactics continued into the 1990s, with an April 1990 Earth Day demonstration on Wall Street utilizing at least fifty black bloc militants out of over two thousand demonstrators. The demonstrators organized under a banner of “people before profit”, pointing out the hypocrisy of corporations that are damaging the environment acting as sponsors to Earth Day. The demonstrations against the anti-environmental aspects of capitalism resulted in over 200 arrests, including at least one demonstrator being carried by stretcher to a police van before taken into custody<sup>2</sup>.

In January 1991, massive demonstrations arose nationwide in response to the Bush administration's military action against Iraq in the Persian Gulf. In San Francisco, over 100,000 demonstrators attended. Other cities included approximately 30,000 in Seattle, 10,000 in Chicago, and between 40,000 and over 100,000 in Washington, D.C., depending on the source. Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation played an active role in the D.C. demonstration, with 300 members active in the D.C. demonstration, including black-clad activists who smashed windows of the U.S. Department of Treasury, the World Bank, and fought the police to avoid arrest. “Hey Hey, Uncle Sam,. We Remember Vietnam!” and other chants were rallying cries for

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1 During the 1980s, the military sent advisors to assist the Salvadoran military in their Civil War, resulting in more than 75,000 deaths. The United Nations Truth Commission Established afterwards that more than 85% of the killings, kidnappings and tortures were related to U.S.-backed militants.

2 Sotomayor, 1990. *The New York Times*, April 24, 1990.

a unified amalgamation of radical leftists, progressives and liberals, centrists, conservatives, and others. The show of solidarity against the Gulf War is promising for the future. However, the lack of results necessitates analysis of tactics.

In October 1992, elaborate celebrations were planned by the federal government in celebration of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival to the "New World". A fleet of mock ships were to arrive in a San Francisco harbor, to which five sailboats were placed by demonstrators to block the arrival – the mock boats never arrived. The black bloc participated in solidarity with indigenous peoples and minorities in protesting imperialism, and the result was a cancellation of the planned celebratory activities as well as a change of Columbus Day to Indigenous Peoples Day in many locales. In Denver, Russell Means of AIM and other activists demonstrated, shutting down a planned celebratory march, instead leading more than 500 supporters to Civic Center Park where a mock burned-out American Indian village was constructed. This was one of many examples of the Black Bloc standing in solidarity with ethnic and racial minorities.





Flyer for 2012 march.



David van Deusen during 1996 DNC Convention<sup>a</sup>

A common theme, typically implied but also outright stated, is that the Black Bloc, Antifa, and related groups are allied with the Democratic Party. This is inherently false, as evidenced by not only doctrinal evidence, but also specific historical events. One such series of events occurred during the 1996 Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Chicago, Illinois. Bill Clinton, who was pro-NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement), was the Democratic Party nominee. Thousands of demonstrators took to the streets over multiple days to protest Clinton's anti-immigration and pro-globalization policies, as well as his capitalist reforms including prison privatization and mass "welfare reform" which appeared detrimental to working- and lower-class interests.

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a Photo of David van Deusen of the Green Mountain Anarchist Collective, taken at the 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois. Photo is sourced from Van Deusen (1996).

A series of marches occurred, with varying demographics participating depending on the topic. During the Immigrants Rights March, a mostly-Hispanic crowd with over 200 Black Bloc members marched for fair immigration policies. Another march entitled “Not on the Guest List”, advocated for freedom of all political prisoners, with several hundred Black Bloc and other demonstrators veering off the permitted march route into a predominantly minority community of housing projects, where many working-class and poor Black individuals joined the march. Participants during this march included David Dillinger of the Chicago 7 and Dennis Banks of the American Indian Movement. Tactics included blocking one of the main entrances and engaging in a standoff with police for many hours, and also blocking an access route between buses and the DNC convention location. On the final day, a mostly anarchist march against capitalism ensued, with several hundred Black Bloc members, where the police arrested dozens of demonstrators. A lesson to be learned is the importance of strength in not only unity, but also strength in numbers – it is much easier to arrest one person than 100, 100 than 500, and once the number starts approaching 1,000 or greater, it is nearly impossible to carry out a significant number of arrests.

Love and Rage and other anarchist collectives joined forces, with anarchists creating Counter-Media, a predecessor to Indymedia based in the offices of the Teamsters. Demonstrators carried two-way radios and cameras, feeding information regarding police tactics to central command to be relayed to other demonstrators, in an attempt to give the Black Bloc and others an upper-hand. Some anarchists fed the local police forces bogus intelligence as well.

The 1996 DNC Convention protest was multi-faceted, with conservative, progressive, socialist, and anarchist demonstrators joining forces in protest. This is a rarity, given the staunch social positions of conservatives are antithetical to anarchist, socialist, progressive, and even more centrist liberal views of acceptance, social justice, and equality, especially for oppressed and marginalized societal groups. Despite sharing a common enemy and a few goals – especially demonstrating with the goal of quashing NAFTA, these groups were semi-segregated, especially those considered more right-wing, centrist, and/or mainstream abstaining from the anti-capitalist marches.

### N30: Seattle, 1999

On November 30<sup>th</sup> through December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1999, a four-day World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting of elites to determine how to manage the changing economy in the new century was planned. This was during a period of time when individuals earning less than \$50,000 per year were against free trade agreements, with those earning less than \$20,000 per year believing free trade agreements were harmful by a three-to-one margin. Even individuals earning greater than \$50,000 per year were only slightly in favor of such agreements, with broad support only coming from the highest tax bracket<sup>1</sup>. Many individuals were highly suspicious of globalization of the world economy and multinational corporations, believing trade agreements and collusion between transnational corporations and the two-party political system fails to stand for their interests. Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators from around the country, from a variety of political affiliations and sociocultural groups amassed in Seattle to protest during this four day period, protesting the corruption of the WTO, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), and multinational corporations. This was also part of a larger anti-colonialism / anti-neo-liberalism movement, with preceding events occurring at the previous year's G8 summit and other countries throughout the world.

The class divide was made obvious by the response of politicians and the mainstream media. The British business journal *The Economist* included an editorial stating, "It is hard to say which was worse – watching the militant dunces parade their ignorance through the streets of Seattle, or listening to their lame-brained governments response to their 'arguments'"<sup>2</sup>. *The Wall Street Journal* echoed similar sentiments, stating "if you are a Salvadoran mother desperate to feed your family or a Chinese teenager with no job prospect, that 'sweatshop'" is essentially a ticket out of poverty, or at least a net positive<sup>3</sup>. The Clinton Administration requested increased severity of police response, an imposed curfew, and sent the National Guard, all of which led to numerous injuries in physical confrontations between

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1 World Socialist Web Site, December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1999

2 I.b.i.d.

3 I.b.i.d.

demonstrators and authorities.

Participation in the “N30” demonstration was not an organic, spur-of-the-moment process – it required extensive planning and nearly a decade of relationship forming and coalition building. During the previous decade, anarchist groups worked with union members, assisting with strike organizing and participated side-by-side with the workers. Also, the Independent Media Center (IMC), jail solidarity programs, and radical legal teams were formed to assist with increasing outreach. During the initial planning stages for N30, the ACME Collective held an open “spokes-council” which was open to everyone, including dissenting voices, and functioned through vocal participation from numerous affinity groups.

During the demonstrations, the Black Bloc targeted numerous multinational corporations, including Fidelity Investment (investor in Occidental Petroleum who operates in opposition to the U'wa tribe in Columbia), Bank of America, U.S. Bancorp, Key Bank, Washington Mutual Bank, Old Navy, Banana Republic, and the GAP (the Gap and previous two are Fisher family businesses who are accused by Van Deusen & Massot (2011) of being “rapers of northwest forest lands and sweatshop laborers”), McDonald's (destruction of rain forests for grazing lands and slave-wages), Starbucks (addictive product, slave-wages for coffee, and destruction of forests), Warner Brothers (media monopolists), and Planet Hollywood. ACME Collective and other Black Bloc anarchists broke storefront windows, defaced facades, looted a Starbucks and NikeTown, and vandalized other properties listed above, expropriating property from many corporations and destroying it in the streets. According to officials of the State of Washington, over \$10,000,000 in damage was caused just by the Black Bloc anarchists<sup>1</sup>.

In addition to targeting multinationals, the Black Bloc assisted with blocking all key access points, which led to only 350 of 3,000 WTO delegates being able to attend day 1, leading to its cancellation, engaging in self-defensive actions against the police, lighting dumpsters on fire, and throwing projectiles at the police. The Black Bloc also served as a protective force for protesters who were being attacked by the police. Over one hundred Black Bloc members were arrested during the four day event, with over one thousand total demonstrators injured

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1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2011.

by the police or through related events.

Despite being on the “same side”, not all of the activists supported the tactics of the Black Bloc. According to ACME Collective, at least six “non-violent” activists attacked Black Bloc members who vandalized corporate property, and some demonstrators even stood in front of a NikeTown superstore and shoved black-clad anarchists away from it, seemingly protecting the interests of the exact class in which the demonstrators were protesting. “Aside from the obvious hypocrisy of those engaged in violence against black-clad and masked people, there is the racism of privileged activists who can afford to ignore the violence perpetrated against the bulk of society and the natural world in the name of private property rights. Window-smashing has engaged and inspired many of the most oppressed members of Seattle’s community more than any giant puppets or sea turtle costume ever could”, stated a representative from ACME Collective<sup>1</sup>.

A common complaint from activists is that the Black Bloc’s actions resulted in the brutal actions of the police, while another faction of activists claim that the Black Bloc acted in response to police brutality. According to an activist, neither is true. For those who claim the black-clad anarchists were the catalyst, one must “note that tear-gassing, pepper-spraying and the shooting of rubber bullets all began before the Black Blocs started engaging in property destruction”<sup>2</sup>. However, the converse is also false, as the Black Bloc must never be “misconstrued as a reactionary force”<sup>3</sup>.

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1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2011.

2 I.b.i.d.

3 I.b.i.d.

## A16: Washington D.C., 2000

On April 15<sup>th</sup> through the 17<sup>th</sup>, a meeting of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) figures was slated to occur in Washington, D.C. The IMF and WB are accused by many individuals and groups as having destructive, unfair policies which harm the environment and the working-class on an international scale. According to Van Deusen and Massot (2010), over 40,000 protesters converged on D.C., while others, such as Locker (2000) reported significantly less substantial figures – 15,000 in Locker's article.

Three main constituencies attended this demonstration. The largest constituency included what is typically considered to be the “mainstream left”: liberals, progressives, and left-of-center reformists, many of whom who are actively involved in organized labor or with non-governmental organizations (NGOs). According to Van Deusen and Massot (2010), this accounted for approximately 30,000 of the demonstrators. Dissenting opinions exist regarding the union presence, with Locker (2000) stating there was “hardly any union presence” and Griswold (2000) stating, “There are union hats and t-shirts in the crowd.” Regardless of the number of actual union members participating in the demonstrations, an obvious support for unionized labor was presence at the demonstrations.

The second major constituency consisted of what is typically referred to as the “far-left”: left liberals, greens, socialists, communists, environmentalists, anarchists, and other groups deemed more radical and revolutionary than the typical establishment / mainstream left. This constituency was organized primarily through the Direct Action Network and included approximately 10,000 to 15,000 demonstrators<sup>1</sup>.

The third constituency, and the constituency of most significance for this work, consisted of the most revolutionary faction of the demonstrators: the Black Bloc, revolutionary anarchists, and anti-capitalists willing to engage in revolutionary action. This constituency numbered approximately 1,000 to 1,500<sup>2</sup>, yet arguably had a disproportionate impact on the direction and outcome of the protest.

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1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010.

2 I.b.i.d.



The A16 demonstration included individuals advocating for a variety of outcomes, which is apparent by the variety of banners: “Free Political Prisoners”, “No World Bank/IMF Loans for Nukes”, “Get Green”, “Abolish IMF/World Bank”, “Smash Capitalism”, and other banners advocating for social reform and justice for immigrants, members of the LGBTQIAA+<sup>1</sup> community, for environmental concerns, and numerous other issues. Scholars and activists attended to educate attendees regarding atrocities committed in relation to IMF/WB policies throughout the world. Another group sang witty songs about Monsanto's “Frankenfoods”. A performance artist carried an alleged genetically modified giant potato through the streets. “Free Mumia” signs were observed throughout the event, including one such sign which appeared briefly in the background of an April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2000 CNN broadcast.

Similar to other actions, blockades were utilized to prevent access to the planned meeting point for the IMF/WB officials. Protesters locked arms and sat in the street to prevent entry, to which the police responded by sending mounted police. One attendee reports of an individual being trampled by a horse-mounted D.C. police officer for refusing to move. After hours of stand-off conditions, a van with militarized “robo-cop” officers emerges, gripping long wooden clubs and plastic shields, wearing full-body riot gear. According to numerous reporters and attendees, the police rushed the crowd, dragging a few protesters away and arresting them, and engaging physically with others. This was just one of many examples of police brutality during this event. In other events, smoke cannisters and pepper spray were utilized liberally to suppress dissenters.

During an April 15<sup>th</sup> march against the military-industrial complex, the D.C. police and other officials surrounded the march, with nearly 600 people being arrested. Two individuals escaped by entering the sewer system through a manhole cover. These two individuals were anarchists, with extensive knowledge of the sewer system and other hiding spots throughout the city.

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1 LGBT was the typical term utilized to describe the collective homosexual and transgendered community during this time period. However, the term generally preferred, or at least seemingly more inclusive, is utilized in this discussion.



April 17<sup>th</sup>, the final day of protests, massive restrictions were implemented to attempt to restrict protest. Numerous copying locations were forced to close, dozens of streets were closed, governmental employees were told to stay home, and other martial law policies were implemented. Over 700 people were arrested just the final day, with the total arrest count for the three-day event ending at approximately 1,400 arrests<sup>1</sup>. Over \$5 million was spent in total on the police operation against demonstrators for this three-day period<sup>2</sup>.

While incarcerated, members of the Black Bloc anarchists and other leftist groups organized in solidarity for conditions of release. While the exact influence of this organizing is definitely debatable – it is hardly reasonable to jail over one-thousand protesters given the already overpopulated jails in the D.C. area, the conclusion was release of all of the protesters, with low fines and charges being dropped or reduced to lesser offenses.

In 2010, a class-action lawsuit against the District of Columbia was decided in favor of the demonstrators, with \$13.7 million to be awarded to the individuals arrested or otherwise harmed during the demonstrations. Judge Paul L. Friedman determined the police acted in an unethical manner, by inciting protesters and making preemptive arrests despite no crimes having been committed.

The mainstream media representation of the events of A16 was skewed, with violent protesters being shown readily, yet the bulk of demonstrators being mostly ignored. The core issues involving corruption and collusion of IMF and WB officials, and how it impacts the working-class and residents of numerous countries, was also neglected. Little discussion of the illegal police tactics, including preemptive arrests, restrictions on areas where protesters could be, the Convergence Center being closed to attempt to quash demonstrations, and intentionally aggressive acts designed to provoke protesters, were uniformly ignored by the major news networks. In response to Seattle, Thomas Friedman of *The New York Times* called the demonstrators “the Noah's ark of flat-earth advocates”<sup>3</sup>, and similar sentiments were expressed in numerous mainstream newspapers and media networks in

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1 Locker, 2000

2 Shah, 2001

3 Friedman, December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1999, *The New York Times*.

response to A16 as well. Criticisms of IMF were mostly parlayed through disagreements amongst nations<sup>1</sup>. The media misrepresentations, whether intentional or not, should be kept in mind as we progress through the history of the Black Bloc and the Antifa movement which emerged, given the continued misrepresentations of the movement throughout the media – both “alternative” and mainstream sources.

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1 Cohen, March 12<sup>th</sup>, 2000, *The New York Times*.

## RNC & DNC Demonstrations, 2000

In 2000, Al Gore, former Vice President of the Clinton Administration, was the Democratic Party nominee, and George W. Bush, son of former President George H.W. Bush, was the Republican Party nominee. Both candidates were perceived by many as being corrupt, acting in their own self-interests instead of the interests of the working-class, impoverished, and increasingly disenfranchised populace. Third party candidates, especially Ralph Nader, received Hollywood endorsements from a wide-range of actors and actresses, including Susan Sorandon, which is the final election in which a mass movement from Hollywood for a non-Democratic Party nominee occurred. Individuals such as Michael Moore and Bill Maher backed Ralph Nader in 2000, yet begged him not to run in 2004, even blaming him for the conditions of the Bush administration from 2005-2008 after Kerry's loss<sup>12</sup>. Despite advocating for fair wages, universal healthcare, criminal justice reform, and nearly every other issue which working-class and impoverished Americans want addressed, Nader is now blacklisted amongst many advocacy groups, who still blame him for the election of Bush and the resulting policies<sup>3</sup>. *SocialistWorker.org* and numerous other socialist, left-progressive, green / environmental, and other “radical” publications and groups still support Nader's policies<sup>4</sup>, policies in which Americans should be uniting under, not demonizing. In the following section, we will be discussing the Black Bloc's demonstrations against both the RNC and DNC, a pattern which continues through to today.

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1 Margolis, 2001.

2 Sealey, 2004.

3 Sherman, 2008.

4 Ruder, 2016.

## R2K: RNC 2000, Philadelphia

The Republican National Convention (RNC), slated for August 1<sup>st</sup> through 3<sup>rd</sup> in Philadelphia, PA, was a time of increasing distrust of the state from the general populace. Between 7,000 to 10,000 demonstrators showed up to protest various issues related to the RNC. The demonstrators were mostly left-leaning individuals, including progressives, left liberals, greens, socialists, communists, and anarchists. Action began on July 29<sup>th</sup> and, for the most part, wrapped up as August 1<sup>st</sup> drew to a close. The events of R2K were an example of the increasing use of excessive force by the state to suppress dissonant voices.

As the RNC approached, conditions in the city of Philadelphia changed. Dan McQuade of *Philadelphia Magazine*, reflecting on when he was seventeen years old, reported, “it concerned me that regulars in Market East (homeless, loiterers in The Gallery, a few street vendors) disappeared. Parts of downtown were almost on lock-down”<sup>1</sup>. Unbeknown to organizers, a multitude of organizations planning for demonstrations had been infiltrated by undercover agents, and when demonstrations began, numerous officers posed as activists and union organizers.

Demonstrations began on July 29<sup>th</sup>, with a non-permitted march from downtown, to the convention center, and elsewhere. This march was sponsored by the Kensington Welfare Rights Union, for the purpose of drawing attention to the plight of urban poor. This day of protests was largely non-violent, yet numerous arrests still occurred.

On the second day – July 30<sup>th</sup> – mass disobedience began, centered around downtown Philadelphia due to the heightened security around the convention center. The city center was shut down through non-violent civil disobedience, with lock-downs and sit-ins across intersections. During this time, the Black Bloc emerged for more aggressive direct action, throwing rocks at police, destroying luxury cars and police vehicles, spray-painting revolutionary messages, and resisting arrest. An increasingly present and aggressive police force was correlated with increasingly aggressive action from the demonstrators.

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1 McQuade, 2015.

On the third day of demonstrations, August 1<sup>st</sup>, over 180 police officers and three helicopters surrounded a puppet-making warehouse on 41<sup>st</sup> and Haverford in Philadelphia's west side. According to one individual who part of over 70 who were arrested at the warehouse, "When we looked through a mail slot to survey the situation, the police sprayed mace at us. They tried to barge in through a hole in the roof and, failing that, videotaped, tape recorded, and spit at us through a skylight. All 75 of us inside the warehouse were detained for over two hours before any search warrant showed up."<sup>1</sup> It was later released in court documents that officials believed the warehouse workers were communists, as a result of some funding being received from the former Soviet-allied World Federation of Trade Unions.<sup>2</sup> The information leading to the investigations and arrests was obtained through four Pennsylvania State Police officers, posing as union carpenters from Wilkes-Barre.<sup>3</sup>

Authorities in Philadelphia utilized R2K as an opportunity to test protest-control tactics subsequently referred to as the "Miami Model", a model of aggressive control of demonstrations through massive surveillance, infiltration, and preemptive measures. Police Commissioner John Timoney, who authorized the violent tactics utilized on protesters, called for an investigation of protest organizers themselves, referring to them as anti-social terrorists.

Bails were set excessively high for relatively minor offenses, including bail amounts from \$10,000 to \$20,000 for low misdemeanor offenses, to as high as \$1,000,000 for relatively minor offenses. Those who were arrested refused to provide names during booking and engaged in numerous other acts of jail solidarity. Prisoners who engaged in acts of solidarity were threatened, beaten, and those engaged in a hunger strike were cut off from water sources. Access to attorneys was denied as well, reported many demonstrators who were arrested<sup>456</sup>.

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1 McQuade, 2015.

2 I.b.i.d.

3 I.b.i.d.

4 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010.

5 Hermes & Nepon, 2015

6 Blumgart, 2016.

Despite aggressive prosecution, most of the cases resulted in not guilty verdicts.

Organizers of R2K did not expect mass arrests, and as such, lacked immediate funding to cover bail and other costs. As a result, R2K Legal, an activist and defendant-led collective, and other organizations, worked together to raise funds, including over \$200,000 for bail and legal fees. According to one demonstrator, who spoke under condition of anonymity due to conditions of a legal settlement, multiple provocateurs who were strangers to his group of demonstrators appeared at this rally, participating in violent acts in a reckless manner, which triggered subsequent arrests. He was one of many arrested during R2K – arrested for simply expressing dissident opinions.

One anarchist, who calls himself “David”, stated the following, which sums up the typical Black Bloc anarchist sentiment towards the state:

*“I do not recognize the authority of the State of Pennsylvania judicial system. I refuse to appear before them in order to plea my “innocence”. In addition to being absurd, such an act would confirm a recognition of legitimacy upon them which I refuse to give. Besides, the court system is simply a tool of the State, and as such, it too is my sworn enemy. Therefore, my necessary relations to it will never be and can never be that of “innocence.” To state it plainly, I am GUILTY. GUILTY of working towards the destruction of that very same court system which seeks to place judgment on me and others. GUILTY of working towards the absolute demise of the whole life denying State apparatus. GUILTY of dreaming of a liberated world where womens consciousness and material relations will at last be free to develop creatively in a society of love, equality, abundance and direct participatory democracy. In a word, all I am willing to confer to Pennsylvania, the*

*Federal Government, as well as any and all authoritarian, bureaucratic and innately oppressive STATES is the absolute hatred and rejection that all exploited people feel and know towards their natural enemies.”<sup>1</sup>*

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1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010.

## D2K: DNC 2000, Los Angeles



Image of fenced off protest zone, outside of the DNC Convention.<sup>a</sup>

*“Los Angeles, urban sprawl heavy-weight of the U.S., home of Rodney King and the L.A.P.D., a city of angels... Seemingly the perfect place for a jerk-off session for the other dumb animal – the donkey.”<sup>1</sup>*

The Republican National Convention was surrounded by protesters, with Philadelphia City Police and other officials accused of police wrongdoing. However, according to statements at the time, the crowd control at the RNC was a success. The Los Angeles Police Department and numerous other agencies, ranging from the FBI, California State Troopers, and others, sought to control protests and ensure the DNC could be held in Los Angeles without any additional commotion. A protest zone nearly a mile away from the location of the DNC was proposed. However, a federal court injunction moved the

<sup>a</sup> Image from KCET, a former PBS-affiliate of Los Angeles, CA.

<sup>1</sup> Van Deusen & Massot, 2010, pg. 79.



protest space much closer. The situation in Los Angeles demonstrated mass civil unrest from a variety of groups within society, and a growing rejection of the two-party corporate political system.



"Sham Elections. Pre-selected, Interchangeable, Corporate Puppets. Democratic Republican Spectacle, Public Relations for Corporate Rule."<sup>a</sup>

The Democratic National Convention occurred from August 14<sup>th</sup> to August 17<sup>th</sup>, with demonstrations covering a wide-spectrum of issues occurring from the 13<sup>th</sup> through the 17<sup>th</sup>. The day with the most participants was Tuesday the 15<sup>th</sup>, when a "Human Need, Not Corporate Greed" march took place, with attendance numbering 15,000 to 20,000<sup>1</sup>. Bands such as Ozmalti and Rage Against the Machine performed on a nearby stage, drawing additional people who were present for the music, not necessarily for political activism. Many demonstrators marched under banners with a circle "A" for Anarchy, a circle "E" for Equality, and "Whoever they vote for we are ungovernable", all which are readily seen at modern-day Black Bloc, Antifa, and other anarchist demonstrations. The wide array of perspectives, coming together to protest the same event, did lead to quarrels, including the Black Bloc and the "highly authoritarian"<sup>2</sup> International Socialist Organization (ISO) having disagreements before

a Photographer: Mark Vallen, "Art for a Change" – [art-for-a-change.com](http://art-for-a-change.com)

1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010.



and during the demonstrations.

Two divergent opinions of the events of D2K were reported: the events per law enforcement and the corporate, mainstream media, and the events reported by demonstrators and independent news outlets. According to the Los Angeles Police Department Website, ““The Department succeeded in its goals, priorities and objectives. Despite numerous protests, only 194 arrests were made (59 of those for felonies, the rest for Misdemeanors). There were no serious injuries to protesters, police, or guests of the City. Six law enforcement officers sustained minor injuries, and a police horse, Dakota, suffered a laceration as the result of a protester's assault.”<sup>1</sup> Los Angeles Police Chief Bernard Parks told CNN he thought the police response was “outstanding”: “I thought it was clearly disciplined, and we gave the right commands. The field Commanders were right on top of it.”<sup>2</sup> Police also told CNN during DNC week that no serious injuries were incurred, and four people were treated for minor injuries at the scene, not specifying whether or not the injuries were officers or demonstrators<sup>3</sup>. CNN reports that 50 to 100 demonstrators began throwing rocks and bottles at the police during the Rage Against the Machine Concert, implying that any police response was only in retaliation to acts of aggression from out-of-control demonstrators.<sup>4</sup> Other major outlets provided similar reports of out-of-control demonstrators and a measured, seemingly appropriate police response, with very few injuries. However, the accounts from the LAPD, CNN, and others from the law enforcement and mainstream media

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2 Description of ISO from Van Deusen & Massot, 2010. It follows logically that ISO would, at minimum, be more authoritarian than an anarchist Black Bloc collective, given the ISO does not advocate for abolition of the state in its entirety, but for replacement of the capitalist state with a socialist model.

1 “2000 Democratic National Convention.” Los Angeles Police Department. Retrieved November 7, 2017, from [http://www.lapdonline.org/history\\_of\\_the\\_lapd/content\\_basic\\_view/1135](http://www.lapdonline.org/history_of_the_lapd/content_basic_view/1135).

2 CNN, 2000.

3 I.b.i.d.

4 I.b.i.d.

category conflict with numerous independent media outlets, photographic and video evidence from demonstrators, reports from a variety of sources including lawyers and other reputable public figures, and independent media outlets.



Photograph of man who was shot by LAPD with a rubber bullet earlier in the day.<sup>a</sup>

The “Fake News” media is a term popularized by Donald Trump, during his campaigning and presidency thus far. However, discussions of the news media being biased and corporate-owned date back to long-before Donald Trump's campaign for presidency, typically being a claim of left-wing activists and anarchists. The events at the 2000 DNC shed light into at best, lazy journalism, and at worst, an intentional cover-up of police brutality, by CNN and other mainstream outlets. California State Senator Tom Hayden, a delegate at the DNC, stated it “looked like a war zone” when he left the Staples Center: “I was amazed the police said there were no injuries.” This is a claim Senator Hayden doubted, given he personally knew of at least three people sustaining injuries from rubber bullets, including two ACLU attorneys. One such attorney, Lafferty, stated he was hit with rubber bullets twice, despite wearing a hat identifying himself as a legal

<sup>a</sup> Photographer: Mark Vallen, “Art for a Change” - [art-for-a-change.com](http://art-for-a-change.com)

observer and having his hands up.<sup>12</sup> A news photographer, a civil rights attorney, and a homeless advocate sustained head injuries during demonstrations, which directly contradicts reports from CNN and the LAPD.<sup>3</sup> Leaders of the protests and lawyers representing demonstrators stated at least 150 people were significantly injured by the police, with batons, being trampled by horses, by rubber bullets, or other violent means.<sup>45</sup>

The location of the Shadow Convention and the Independent Media Center (IMC), a location the police attempted to have shut down prior to the DNC, was swarmed by police, claiming a legitimate threat of a bomb at the location. Arianna Huffington, Gore Vidal, Christopher Hitchens, and others at the location moved to the street, continuing their media coverage and discussions. The LAPD, dressed in riot gear, started shouting that the crowd must disperse due to being “out of control”, despite showing no signs of civil unrest. According to Arianna Huffington, “The police got closer, clearly intending to protect the L.A. citizens from Gore Vidal... All of this would have been Keystone Cops if it were not representative of the same attitude which led to people being peppered with rubber bullets and bean bag projectiles six blocks away. We are divided into two nations, one, inside the Staples Center that has to be protected at all costs, and those outside in the streets that is regarded as a threat to public safety.”<sup>6</sup>

Many individuals, including juveniles, were assaulted by the police. According to one parent, whose adolescent was arrested as one of 15 juveniles of 45 total animal rights protesters arrested, “We haven't been able to talk to our see our children for 12 hours. Police officials have yelled at us, saying if we didn't sit down it would taken even longer to see them.” Sarah, a white-collar worker from San Francisco, was clubbed by an officer with a nightstick, knocking her to the ground, despite trying to cooperate with the officer's instructions. Sarah told the

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1 CNN, 2000.

2 Bleyer, 2000.

3 White, 2000.

4 I.b.i.d.

5 Conniff, 2000.

6 I.b.i.d.

World Socialist Web Site, "I am not an anarchist. In fact I was trying to cooperate with the police by asking others to step back. Just then I was hit by a nightstick from the back and flew to the ground. People panicked and began to run. All along the march the police were being provocative while my sister and I held up our hands in a peace sign. I oppose brutality, and a government that spends more on prisons than on schools."<sup>1</sup>

Ben Masel, a drug-law reform advocate, engaged in a performance art piece demonstrating the lack of adherence to the fourth amendment by the LAPD. "Step right up folks and lose your constitutional rights. They don't have warrants to search you, they don't have probable cause. But you'll put up with it. You're sheep." In response to this, the police clubbed Masel with batons. He showed his injuries to reporters, stating, "They were mad about the judge's ruling, and they wanted to prevent anybody from having any interactions with the delegates."<sup>2</sup> Garrick Ruiz, while protesting police brutality, was caught in rubber bullet fire, sustaining injuries. "I counted the welts on my body, and there were at least nine."<sup>3</sup> Carlos Donoso, a Los Angeles Department of Transportation employee, told reporters that during training with the police, an official stated, "Don't worry about what happened in Seattle. It won't happen here. We learned from them, for one thing, and we're not going to run out of ammunition."<sup>4</sup> Donoso stated, "When I heard that, I said, 'I'm more afraid of the cops than the protesters'"<sup>5</sup>.

During one specific hour of mass demonstrations and unwarranted acts of police brutality, a speech by President Bill Clinton played on a large screen, where he stated, "America is more confident, hopeful and just. More secure and free because we offered a vision and worked together to achieve it." While this speech took place, demonstrators were being sprayed with pepper spray, rubber bullets were being shot at demonstrators running away from the police, and dozens of demonstrators were injured after being trampled by police on

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1 White, 2000.

2 Conniff, 2000.

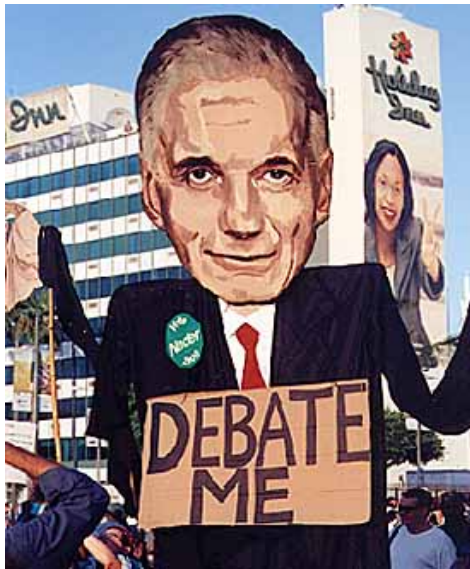
3 I.b.i.d.

4 Conniff, 2000.

5 I.b.i.d.

horseback.

In 2004, a federal judge ruled in a final settlement of many lawsuits claiming the Los Angeles police acted with disproportionate violence towards demonstrators, including many cases of completely unwarranted violence, during the 2000 DNC. This brought the total up to \$4.1 million the City of Los Angeles paid out as a result of a class-action lawsuit filed by 91 protesters, reporters, and innocent bystanders. After the ruling, the LAPD and city officials continued to deny wrongdoing.<sup>1</sup> State Senator Tom Hayden, shortly after the DNC, stated, “Excessive police overreactions has been in the making for many months. I’m convinced an investigation will show that hundreds of people were victims last night of an arsenal of exotic weapons the police wanted to use experimentally... including skipping bullets, gas, rubber bullets.”<sup>2</sup> Hayden’s claims proved correct, through corroboration from independent media outlets and the federal judicial system.



Protesters with a large Ralph Nader puppet.<sup>a</sup>

1 McGreevy, 2004.

2 Conniff, 2000.

a Photographer: Mark Vallet, “Art for a Change” - [art-for-a-change.com](http://art-for-a-change.com)

### O3: Presidential Debate, Boston (2000)

Continued civil unrest, sparked by the lack of ability for third-party candidates – especially Ralph Nader – to have the ability to debate Gore and Bush, and a rejection by both far-left and far-right groups within society of the two-party oligarchical political system, fueled additional demonstrations.

The Black Bloc, while believing that Ralph Nader likely had better intentions than the two corporate mainstream parties, still rejected Nader, on the basis of rejecting the oppressive state mechanism as a whole. As stated by a Black Bloc member, “Nader, though probably well-intentioned, is essentially just adding another temporary head to the aforementioned monster. This cannot be ignored and it is imperative that this issue be addressed.”<sup>1</sup>

O3 represents another period where various dissident voices worked together for a common general cause – voicing opposition against the power structure. Similar to Seattle and earlier demonstrations, so-called “pacifist” factions objected to the aggressive tactics of the Black Bloc, engaging in aggressive acts against the Bloc, claiming self-defense. One individual stole a black anarchist flag, ran to the back of the crowd, and stomped on it, in a display of opposition to the Black Bloc. However, the Black Bloc was generally accepted, and in turn, the Black Bloc accepted the right of others to express their viewpoint and engage in civil disobedience utilizing their own strategies. “It is very unfortunate that some people are so ideologically narrow on the issue of tactics hat they have to resort to insults, interference, and lies in order to try to maintain the moral high ground that they so cherish.”<sup>2</sup>

The first presidential debate of 2000 was in Boston, MA, on October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2000, on the University of Massachusetts campus. Several thousand demonstrators, many associated with the Green Party and furious about the lack of Ralph Nader's inclusion in the presidential debates, amassed in the vicinity of the debate, which was heavily guarded by a militarized police force, with local, state, and federal law

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1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010, pg. 84.

2 I.b.i.d., pg 84-86.

enforcement agencies locking down the area around the debate. Hundreds of police dressed in full riot gear, and at least three police helicopters with floodlights, were in force to control the crowd. The crowds chanted, "Open the debates!" and "Let them speak!"<sup>1</sup> Throughout this election cycle, Ralph Nader was largely ignored, despite clearly having the most support out of any third party candidate, receiving less coverage than Pat Buchanan, whose ultra-nationalist and populist semi-reactionary platform polled at 20-25% of the support of Nader.<sup>2,3,4</sup> On August 31<sup>st</sup>, Janet Brown, a key organizer in the presidential debate organization, stated the structure of the debate was already set in January, implying that any attempt to get a third-party in the debate was highly unlikely, regardless of petitions, polling results, and general public support for third parties.<sup>5</sup>

Ralph Nader attempted to attend a video feed showing of the presidential debates, at an off-site location, using a ticket donated to him by a student. Ralph Nader was denied entry, and threatened arrest by three state troopers. Nader stated, "I didn't expect they would be so crude and so stupid. This is the kind of creeping tyranny that has turned away so many voters from the electoral process. Imagine that, a private company, controlled by the two major parties and funded by beer, tobacco, auto, and other corporations, misused police power to exclude me from the premises, even though I had a ticket to enter issued by the debate commission themselves."<sup>6</sup> Nader's sentiment is reflected in the actions of the Black Bloc, who also agrees corporate influence and capitalist corruption are antithetical to the democratic process. Unlike Nader, the Black Bloc believes the state itself is incapable of reformation.

Many individuals supported the exclusion of third-party candidates, mostly due to a feeling of needing to choose the "better of two evils" or a close tie of some form to one of the two major parties.

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1 Bollyn, 2000.

2 Cohen, 2000.

3 White, 2000.

4 Paulin & Hughes, 2000.

5 Wilkerson, 2000.

6 Bollyn, 2000.

Jesse Jackson, Jr. (D-ILL) proposed legislation lowering the debate entry requirement to only 5% polling, which Nader would have met. However, his father, Jessie Jackson, Sr., opposed such an action due to fervent opposition to George W. Bush.<sup>1</sup> If acting in the interest of civil rights for minorities, Nader's platform was seemingly the most beneficial to minority communities, with a nationalistic economy policy, a focus on social welfare programs including single-payer health-care, higher minimum wage, and other policies which would benefit the African American community. Party and corporate ties seemingly overpowered ethics amongst many political figures – corruption which the Black Bloc seeks to abolish.

At this rally, approximately 60 Black Bloc attended, advocating for the anarchist option to the corrupt corporatist system. The Black Bloc also sought to make attempts at arrest of protesters difficult, even freeing one such individual from arrest through brute force tactics. The Black Bloc stormed the police line, utilizing poles, rocks, and other objects for defensive attack. However, the Bloc was eventually pushed back, with 3 people arrested by being pulled over the barricade. The police engaged the crowd with liberal use of “pepper-spraying” and “club-swinging”, according to some attendees.<sup>2</sup> When 50 non-violent activists sat in front of the cops, in defiance, willing to be arrested to prove a political point, the Black Bloc abstained from cation. “They were willing to be arrested, and therefore did not want us to try to pull them away from the police which was fine.”<sup>3</sup> When a few activists crossed the barricade with hands up, the police gassed and clubbed the activists, resulting in moderately severe injury.

Despite being ignored by mainstream media outlets, many injuries occurred at this protest. According to Bleyer (2000), at least two individuals were taken to the hospital with serious injuries, resulting from police on horseback stampeding a peacefully organized crowd, utilizing chemical spray and batons to disperse the crowd. One alternative news source reported, “Officers dragged away and beat with truncheons those protesters who refused to move from the road. Five people were treated for minor injuries, and two were taken to the

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1 Bollyn, 2000.

2 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010.

3 I.b.i.d.



hospital, said state police Capt. Robert Bird.”<sup>1</sup>

## **J20 – Inaguration Day, 2000**

The “J20” protest by the Black Bloc on inauguration day has become a tradition, beginning with significance in 2000. After participating in protests at all three presidential debates, the Black Bloc organized for a massive demonstration against capitalism and authoritarianism, as President George W. Bush was sworn into office. The conditions in which Bush was declared president was questioned, given the state of Florida requiring a recount, and many individuals blamed Ralph Nader for the victory of Bush, demonstrating mass public support for the two-party oligarchical system. The Black Bloc continued its quest to spread anarchism, a rejection of the state, recognizing the potential abuses in which another Bush administration could inflict not only on oppressed individuals in America, but on an International stage.

The January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001 “J20” protest was the largest inauguration day protest since President Nixon's re-election in 1973. Reports ranged from 20,000 to over 50,000 demonstrators showing up for the event, ranging from centrists who were only upset that Al Gore had lost, to revolutionary anti-statist factions who would have protested regardless of the chosen president.<sup>23</sup> The majority of protesters were typical left-of-center demonstrators who are readily seen at nearly any popular demonstration, with a significant amount of Democrats furious about the election, believing the 2000 election was rigged against Gore. Despite bringing together a variety of individuals and groups against Bush, many factions impaired their ability to effectively organize and take action through authoritarian, non-democratic leadership, lack of inclusiveness (a diversity of ideas, not simply a diversity of racial/ethnic groups and sexual orientations), and inability to organize against a strong, central theme.

The Revolutionary Anti-Authoritarian Bloc (RAAB) was a

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1 Bleyer, 2000

2 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010.

3 Butterfield, 2001.

Black Bloc formed from a variety of groups<sup>1</sup>, with over one thousand total participants attending inauguration activities. In the early stages of development, RAAB attempted to actively coordinated with the Justice Action Movement (JAM), a liberal coalition which sought to spread out non-violent activists along the parade route, given that groups of twenty-five or less did not require a permit to protest. The RAAB cited a lack of effective tactical planning as only one minor issue of many for organizing separately from JAM. RAAB also believed JAM lacked a firmly grounded political ideology, seeking strength in numbers in lieu of strength in a unified, convincing message. According to one RAAB organizer, "They even welcomed Democrats who clearly stated that the only reason they would be protesting was because Gore did not win the election... JAM also insisting on working closely with the police, to the extent of even paying to take a high ranking police officer to dinner.. cannot be interpreted as anything but an insult to the thousands of activists who have been beaten, jailed, prosecuted over the last year."<sup>2</sup> RAAB was not invited to JAM meetings where important tactical decisions were made. As a result, RAAB withdrew support. However, as the inauguration approached and rumors surfaced of it possibly occurring indoors for security concerns, JAM organizers approached RAAB for support in direct action tactics. RAAB declined.

This inauguration was one of the most heavily policed, forcing citizens to pass through one of sixteen or seventeen checkpoints, subjecting citizens to arbitrary searches, and all banners and flags with posts more than a quarter inch in diameter were confiscated. Lists of

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1 A sampling of major groups involved with the RAAB: The Barricada Collective, Sabate Anarchist, Agitate! (Baltimore), The Onward Collective (Gainesville), ABCF People of Color Caucus, Anarchist Black Cross Federation-Houston, Radio Sexto Sol (Houston), People Against Racist Terror, Anarchist Soccer League (New Brunswick), ABCF-Kent, Infoshop.org (Washington, DC), ARA Columbus, Brighter Days Collective (Lansing), Aron Pieman Kay, Global Pastry Uprising, Tenant's Voice (Kansas), Free Anarchist Collective (Detroit), Grain RAGE (upper Midwest), Resistance Against Genetic Engineering, Anarchists Anonymous (Minneapolis), GALA (Green Anarchists), Insurrectionary Anonymous, Active Transformation Newspaper Collective (Detroit/Lansing), Brian MacKenzie Center (Washington, DC), Stenka Razin Anarchist Group (Kansas City).

2 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010, pg 124.

barred individuals were maintained, and individuals were denied entry when law enforcement deemed necessary, blocking many protesters from entry. The Partnership for Civil Justice (PCJ) and other organizations fought legal battles for weeks with authorities for permits, winning a key legal battle at the end to ensure access to permitted areas, including the plaza at Pennsylvania Avenue and northwest 14<sup>th</sup> St. Despite winning a legal injunction, police delayed entry of protesters for hours.<sup>1</sup> At least 9,000 officers were present from Washington D.C., the Secret Service, FBI, Parks Police, State Police of Maryland and Virginia, and others.<sup>2</sup> “We believed the police never intended to give us a permit or allow demonstrators to have access to the parade route, stated Gutierrez of IAC, who was planning on protesting regardless of whether Gore or Bush won, stating “whether Bush or Gore won, the death machine would go on.”<sup>3</sup> She continued, “They hoped to shield the Bush administration from the political embarrassment of having thousands of demonstrators lining the route. But they were overruled by the strength of the movement.”<sup>4</sup>

According to Channel 8, Washington D.C.'s all-news channel, approximately 50,000 protesters total attended, with other sources providing similar figures.<sup>5</sup> “There were 125 buses from New York alone”, stated IAC organizer Sarah Slone. “They came from the East Coast, the South, and Midwest. They came from as far away as California, Texas and Oklahoma.”<sup>7</sup> Sloan also stated, “There is so much massive anger over the way the election took place.”<sup>8</sup> Reverend Al Sharpton stated, “We come to underscore that today in the capital city they are perpetuating one of the greatest untruths in American history. We are here to let the world know that [Black people] are not going to

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1 Butterfield, 2000.

2 I.b.i.d.

3 I.b.i.d.

4 I.b.i.d.

5 I.b.i.d.

6 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010.

7 Butterfield, 2000.

8 I.b.i.d.

give back the right to vote.”<sup>9</sup> Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate previously barred from the debates, expressed opposition to both administrations, denouncing “the soothing transition between two administrations, both of which take their orders from big business – they same big businesses that pumped \$35 million into this weekend's ceremonies.”<sup>1</sup>

More peaceful protesters shouted slogans such as “racist, sexist, anti-gay”, referring to Bush, as well as “that is what a police state looks like”, both slogans which are common amongst protesters at more recent presidential inauguration ceremonies. Another slogan which continues to present, “this is what democracy looks like” could be heard as well. The New Black Panther Party was in attendance as well, with organizer Malik Zulu Shabaaz stating in response to questions about why his group was wearing protective gear, “We are not among friends”, pointing to the police.<sup>2</sup>

Militant and peaceful groups from a variety of organizations attended the protest, and while many despised the tactics utilized by the Black Bloc, many protesters benefited from having a militant faction present at the inauguration ceremonies. When given the choice of supporting the police state or the Black Bloc, demonstrators from JAM and the National Organization of Women (NOW) surrounded a group of police attempting a mass arrest of a 250-person strong Black Bloc. “This act of solidarity demonstrated the underlying recognition of 'common cause' on the part of rank and file constituents of the growing social protest movement, despite the 'official' Liberal leadership's hesitancy to embrace a more radical analysis and tactics”, stated one Black Bloc member.<sup>3</sup>

The Black Bloc, despite consisting of less than 1% of total demonstrators, played an active role during the day's events. At one point, the Black Bloc charged and toppled a checkpoint, forcing their way towards the parade route. A wagon was shoved towards the barricades, and the officers scattered. A Secret Service agent hurriedly

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9 I.b.i.d.

1 I.b.i.d.

2 I.b.i.d.

3 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010.

drove his car in the path of the oncoming Bloc and demonstrators to block access to the parade route, a close call for officials.

The Black Bloc staged a march beginning at Freedom Plaza. However, authorities attempted to break up the march, demonstrating the lack of actual freedom for anyone who fails to fall into the “slightly left-of-center / reactionary” political spectrum, clubbing and utilizing tear gas on marchers liberally, similar to previous events. Other clashes with police occurred, including one at the Navy Memorial. The Black Bloc burned American flags, in solidarity against the authoritarian state, and hoisted black and red, black, and other anarchist flags. The police swarmed the group, and two of the Bloc dove over the police into the crowd to avoid arrest. An hour-and-a-half confrontation between the Black Bloc and police ensued, with the Bloc receiving reinforcements from fifteen members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Several unarrests, and only two total successful arrests, occurred at the Navy Memorial.

The 2000 Presidential Inauguration demonstrated new tactical implementations of the Black Bloc. To many of the uninformed, the Black Bloc appears to be a chaotic group. However, the tactics are planned, practiced, and refined, continuously adapting to new tactics of the authoritarians of the police state. One such tactic was the “Autonoman”-like regimental structure – marching in tightly-knit formation, organized by affinity group, surrounding the group with banners – to create further difficulties with attempting arrest of the Bloc. The willingness to adapt and implement new tactics would prove to be useful in the future, with increasingly authoritarian anti-demonstration legislation, and other oppressive legislation in response to the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001.

## A20: Quebec City, April 2001

A meeting of heads of state, planned for April 20<sup>th</sup> through 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2001, was planned to discuss the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA), a seemingly positive-sounding agreement which would further harm the working-class of the United States, and to a lesser extent Canada and possibly even Mexico, while contributing to the exploitation of workers and destruction of the environment in the so-called “less developed” countries of Central and South America. FTAA sought to expand NAFTA, serving as a prime example of how unregulated global capitalism has the serious potential to corrupt governance and leads to further class divide – even anti-Marxist, free market capitalist conservatives (those of the working-class or even upper middle-class) admit to the deleterious effects of “free trade” agreements on American workers.

This was yet another event heavily guarded by police officials, exacerbating concerns of the public who are already skeptical of the government and now observing yet another secretive meeting occurring with only corporate media providing limited coverage. Depending on reports, approximately 70,000 to slightly over 100,000 protesters descended upon Quebec City to voice their opposition to FTAA. Day 1 (April 20<sup>th</sup>) consisted of two anarchist-influenced / anarchist-sympathetic organizations – CLAC and CASAS – organized the bulk of demonstrations, numbering over 20,000 attendees. The second day also included Quebecois nationalists (left-nationalists, historically the separatists were a part of this general crowd), organized labor, and the typical assortment of leftist activists including the Greens, Socialists, Anarchists, Left-Liberals, Communists, as well as farmers, workers, students, minorities, and various other groups.

By the end of demonstrations, over 450 people were arrested, 71 police officers were injured including one with serious injuries, over 100 demonstrators required hospitalization or some form of immediate medical attention. An elderly woman died from ingestion of massive amounts of chemical weapons utilized by the police had one individual was critically injured after being hit in the throat by a rubber bullet.<sup>1</sup> According to reports in Van Deusen and Massot (2010), “A multitude of

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1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010.

others were hospitalized. I saw one person carried off with two broken legs.. The police fired thousands of cans of tear gas and other like agents at us. They utilized water cannons, liberally fired beanbags and rubber bullets at us. They attacked us with batons and made use of attack dogs.”<sup>1</sup> Barricades protected the police from the demonstrators, who outnumbered them 70,000-100,000 to 10,000. However, the first and second days had late starts and early adjournments, likely due to conditions around the meeting and heightened security concerns.

Federal and provincial officials engaged in intelligence gathering and preemptive arrests prior to and during A20. Numerous Quebec nationalists, anarchists, and others were arrested with dynamite prior to the event. The FBI raided the Seattle Independent Media Center (IMC), disrupting the independent reporting of the event, as well as Canadian federal agents raiding a Quebec independent media equivalent to IMC. The raids were justified by an anonymous email posting threatening President George W. Bush's life, which if not concocted for nefarious purposes, was most certainly not related to the independent media outlets raided. This facilitated a media blackout of the event.

Given the controlled blackouts of independent media and citizen journalism, the bulk of information received by the general public was received from corporate media sources. These sources downplayed the number of injuries, neglecting to mention injuries to demonstrators altogether in many cases, and also misrepresented the attendance figures. Many major outlets ignored the demonstrations, or if covered, only provided a short segment in one of the middle-to-end programming blocks. According to the Barricada Collective, “This is that we have nothing to hope for from the corporate media, we should expect nothing from them, and we should absolutely not change any of our tactics or messages in order to pander to them. We should instead treat them as the servants of capital, and thus our enemies, that they are.”<sup>2</sup> The interest of many corporate sponsors of major media outlets were being represented at the FTAA meeting, and covering the demonstrations would provide evidence of significant opposition from the public, bringing into question whether the FTAA agenda is beneficial to Americans, Canadians, or any of the residents of North, South, or Central America.

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1 I.b.i.d., pg 128.

2 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010, pg. 136.

“However, it seems that corporate journalists are only inspired enough to research articles and abstain from repeating police misinformation after they are targeted by demonstrators and shown that their lies and misinformation will not be tolerated. Fortunately, this message seemed to be abundantly clear to the Black Bloc participants in Quebec City, as people made it a point to deny pictures to journalists, stop them from filming, taking their tapes and rolls if they were caught doing so, and targeting any and all media vehicles that crossed their paths,” stated a representative of the Barricada Collective.<sup>1</sup> This refusal of the Black Bloc to be misrepresented by corporate media continues today, through the refusal to provide information to journalists – including many “alternative media” networks – and similar tactics. The anarchist collectives advocate for the spreading of counter-propaganda via word of mouth, independent publications, and through direct community involvement, with a focus on building strong ties with the working-class and oppressed communities.

During the early stages of demonstrations, the Black Bloc consisted of numerous smaller blocs, which organically combined into larger forces. Several hundred people composed the Black Bloc, and participated in numerous militant acts to advance their anti-capitalist stance. Petrol bombs were thrown at police, threw rocks and bottles, engaged in direct confrontations with police, and toppled security fences, to name a few actions. At one point, the Black Bloc was able to topple approximately 200 to 300 feet of chain-link security fence. The police stood their ground, and subsequently, a standoff ensued. During this particular incident, the riot police were able to maintain the perimeter. However, the FTAA event was delayed – a minor success for the demonstrators.

After hours of demonstrating and direct action, the numbers of demonstrators decreased, providing an opportunity for the authorities to disperse the crowds. Riot police swarmed the crowd from the front and rear, resulting in physical confrontations, some arrests, and the escape of many demonstrators to under highway ramps and other hiding locations. During retreat, barricades were lit on fire, and members of the Black Bloc continued to participate in guerrilla tactics to keep the riot police busy into the night.

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1 Van Deusen & massot, 2010, pg 136-37.



A20 is another example of pacifist, left-wing authoritarians, and other groups considered to be fighting for the same cause as the Black Bloc, anarchist collectives, and allied groups, yet engage in actions counterproductive to the cause. One such contingent, known as Operation SalAMI, held down members of the Black Bloc, engaged in physical confrontations, and attempted to assist police with arrests. Operation SalAMI, according to their materials, state that they are a “direct action network born in the context of citizens right campaign against the MIA” and their purpose is “the desire to create a new form of social power with the potential to counter and even reverse the dynamics of impoverishment and destruction caused by the sway which a small elite holds over the resources and the people of the world.”<sup>1</sup> The actions of members of SalAMI during A20 seemed to be in alliance with the state and police forces, not with the general populace of demonstrators.

Another issue which began to emerge as a significant issue of concern, which continues to present-day, was the growing emergence of the “Black Bloc spectator”. These individuals wear the correct “uniform” to be in the Bloc and when conditions are fair, march with the rest of the Bloc. However, once police forces begin an offensive attack, these spectators flee the scene, or remain at the rear of the bloc, in a position where escape is most feasible. Despite having the effect of showing an increased size of force against the state, nearly half of the members fled during confrontations at A20, leaving the remainder of the Black Bloc having to fend for themselves. Given the history of law enforcement infiltration into revolutionary and anti-government reactionary groups, as well as the emergence of alternative media outlets attempting to expose certain organizations, it would not be terribly surprising if some of these individuals were actually law enforcement officials, informants, journalists, or other figures in attendance for reasons other than advancing an anti-capitalist, anti-state, egalitarian message.

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1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010, pg. 142.

## **U.S. Antifa (Post-September 11<sup>th</sup> to Present)**

The terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, provided an excuse for the Bush administration to impose reactionary policies, increasing domestic surveillance in the name of public safety, and increasingly more restrictive laws against public organizing, and other laws against groups deemed to be “terrorist” groups – essentially, any group which seriously questions the structure and function of the U.S. government and seeks to organize with the purpose of advocating for change could potentially be considered a terrorist group. Multiple state governments are implementing laws which state groups such as Black Lives Matter (BLM) are terrorist groups. Antifa has also been proposed as a terrorist organization, despite Antifa being a social movement, not an actual group. Antifa is essentially a collection of ideas – a collection of ideas in which individuals and organizations with a variety of primary purposes have decided to join together in a common cause against fascism and racism. This would be the logical equivalent of stating the “Civil Rights Movement” is a terrorist group. If Antifa is reduced to “the Black Bloc”, then a tactical form of protest is considered a terrorist group, another seemingly illogical conclusion.

Domestic terrorism which harms innocent individuals is a serious concern. However, censorship of ideas under the guise of confronting terrorist groups is a reactionary strategy, one which is likely to fail as more and more Americans become displaced from adequate-paying employment, and the ever-shrinking middle-class becomes more and more disenfranchised. When a legal precedent is set, making an idea illegal, it sets forth the possibility of making other ideas deemed dangerous to the state illegal as well, under the guise of a war on terror. Even those who disavow and are in disgust of the tactics of groups such as BLM and anarchist collectives, and tactics such as the black bloc and other militant tactics, should not support legislation which makes the ideas in and of themselves illegal, given the possibility the same legal reasoning could be used to suppress an idea, such as collective bargaining, in the future.

## **S28: Post-9/11, Washington, D.C.**

Prior to the 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, Pentagon, and the fourth plane which crashed whose destination is unknown, a massive march on Washington D.C. for the IMF/WB conference in late September was planned, a march which some projected to exceed 100,000 demonstrators. However, the fear mongering media, coupled with semi-realistic fear of the public of further terrorist attacks and increased governmental legislation of the anti-democracy variety (i.e. PATROIT Act), significantly impacted attendance. This also was the beginning of a shift towards increased domestic surveillance of dissident groups, both left- and right-wing, with even less adherence to constitutional law. The demographics of those who attended, as well as the still rather large numbers, provide insights into increasing disillusionment with the state.

The September 2011 D.C. demonstrations took place on primarily two days: September 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>. September 28<sup>th</sup> was the primary day of anti-war and anti-capitalist protest, with over 10,000 demonstrators in attendance. At least 2,000 were of the anti-capitalist variety, whether socialist, communist, anarchist, or another form of anti-capitalist, and several hundred Black Bloc were present. At 9 am, a banner rose: “No War but Class War”, a slogan which concisely states the position of the bulk of protesters, even those who were not clearly of the socialist or anarchist variety: this war is not in the interest of the general populace; it is only in the interest of the elite. Riot police promptly surrounded the demonstrators, yet were brushed aside rather easily, as their march continued to the IMF building. Another standoff between law enforcement and demonstrators occurred, this one lasting for more than an hour. Despite a few standoffs between the police and demonstrators, and a few arrests, the demonstration was largely peaceful. The primary organizers, the Anti-Capitalist Convergence and anti-war coalition ANSWER, considered the event generally successful at drawing public attention to the inherent divergence class interests when it comes to international warfare.

September 29<sup>th</sup> was a much smaller demonstration, consisting specifically of religious and pacifist organizations. Only 3,000 attended – less than one-third of the previous day. This may be explainable due to better organizing tactics of the previous day's groups. However, it

may also signify an increasing willingness to confront state and corporate officials in a more aggressive manner. Satellite demonstrations, approximately 80 in all, were mostly composed of greater, or at least equal, attendee numbers than day two of the D.C. demonstration, including approximately 10,000 present in San Francisco and over 2,000 in Los Angeles.

## TCD: Denver, 2001



Transform Columbus Day flyer, 2016.<sup>a</sup>

Transform Columbus Day (TCD), a four-day organized plan for direct action to prohibit Columbus Day celebrations, including a parade, was not the large mass gathering of D2K, R2K, A16, N30, and every other event mentioned in this sub-chapter thus far. However, the exact number of attendees should not be the unit of measurement for importance and significance. This event is a practical example of one historical ally of anarchists – the American Indian Movement – and the

<sup>a</sup> [TransformColumbusDay.org](https://TransformColumbusDay.org). A flier from the TCD event which began in 2001 and continues to present-day, in cities across the United States.

potential outcome when groups allied together stay focused on not only selfish, opportunistic needs, but also the needs of others amongst the group.



Russell Means, at 2007 TCD, being detained by law enforcement.<sup>a</sup>

Russell Means and AIM descended upon the city of Denver on October 5<sup>th</sup>, 2001, detesting the celebration of genocidal actions inflicted on indigenous peoples by early European explorers – especially Christopher Columbus, as well as continued genocidal actions against indigenous people of both North America and on an International scale. Mexican liberation nationalists, Chicano activists, and a variety of other radicals assisted AIM with the demonstrations. The Black Bloc, specifically invited by AIM, attended, providing an example of an on-the-surface bizarre, yet actually philosophically congruent, alliance, given both indigenous peoples and anarchists are composed of oppressed peoples who desire freedom from tyranny, and a return to true democracy, or at least a right of a people to determine their own fate in a collective manner. According to many anarchists, the treatment from AIM proved who their real allies are in the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist class struggle.

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<sup>a</sup> Photo from Indianz.com, October 8, 2007.

Prior to Columbus Day, many groups opt-ed out of the parade, including 11 Italian-American groups. "We don't think its proper to march and have strife.. in such a time of morning and grief," stated Dave Sprecase, Chairman of the Denver Columbus Day Parade Committee. Sprecase stated a 2002 Columbus Day parade would not be ruled out. Permit holder C.M. Magiaracina refused to drop Columbus Day from the title, re-branding the parade "Columbus Day 2001: A National Day of Mourning." Magiaracina commented, "It will be a very sober walk in respect to all the people killed and the victims who remained. It will be a national day of mourning. I can't imagine anyone ... protesting it." However, the demands of activists were clear. Activist LeRoy Lemos of the TCD Alliance stated, "Any activities that take place on the Columbus holiday, that celebrate Columbus Day or have his name attached to it will be vigorously protested."<sup>1</sup> When the only demand was to drop Columbus from the title, and the permit holder stated the parade was about the fallen from 9/11, then why could not a simple agreement be reached on the part of the permit holder. The remnants of the parade did not resemble Magiaracina's description, either.

Day one, composed primarily of the "All Nations 4 Directions" march, consisted of approximately 500 attendees, with 75 of those being Black Bloc – a very healthy 6:1 activist:bloc ratio. October 8<sup>th</sup> included 2,000 total demonstrators, 300 Black Bloc demonstrators, and more individuals showed up to support AIM and the TCD agenda than the Columbus Day parade.

Throughout event, approximately 2,000 to 10,000 total demonstrators and supporters attended, depending on the source. Van Deusen and Massot (2010) stated after learning the parade was canceled on the 8<sup>th</sup>, "Upon learning this, the assembled protesters rightly understood this to be a victory.. won not through respectable protest or liberal appeals, but through the implied threat of physical force." The corporate media, which has a history of misrepresentation of events and co-opting so-called "leftist" causes for financial gain, attempted to get numerous photos and videos for newscasts. Despite warnings from Black Bloc and other demonstrators, media correspondents continued to attempt to engage demonstrators. One demonstrator, who finally decided to put an end to a specific news crew's attempts at filming and

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1 TransformColumbusDay, 2001. Kane, 2001.



photographing events, grabbed a camera and wrote all over the lens. In response, the media correspondence engaged in physical confrontation with the Black Bloc member, resulting in AIM security stepping in, separating and calming the confrontation.



AIM security at TCD event, with demonstrators in stand-off against police.<sup>a</sup>

Unlike many other protests, such as N30 and A16, which drew large numbers yet dispersed at the first sign of physical confrontation with law enforcement, the group of demonstrators at TCD stood in solidarity, unwavering at massive amounts of riot police, newly installed surveillance cameras, and undercover agents throughout the crowd. The mantra “strength in numbers” is not relevant if the people are not standing in firm solidarity, united towards a common cause. The cause against the celebration of historical and modern-day atrocities towards indigenous peoples, as well as others who are deemed oppressed or at least in minority status of some form, continues to be a central rallying tenant.

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<sup>a</sup> Photo from TransformColumbusDay.org.



## Battle of York, 2002

Up until this point of discussing modern-day Antifa and Black Bloc history, the focus has mainly involved the people versus corporations and/or the people versus the state. As many familiar with recent clashes involving Antifa affiliated groups, the clashes are not always this simple, given many citizens may take the side of the state, or even in cases where another group is against corporate and state corruption, the locus of blame may be routed to a different source, such as in the case of many right-wing groups blaming economic issues on out-of-control immigration and the so-called “Welfare state” Even though the fundamental source of economic troubles are the same for each group – the state – the willingness of some groups to attribute race or ethnicity to the source of the problem results in groups who could potentially be unified against the state, combating each other instead. The Battle of York is one such situation. This event also draws into question, not from the perspective of the constitution, but in the context of actual democracy of the people, the extent to which extremist dissident opinions, especially those which promote or imply harm to members of society, should be accepted by the community-at-large.

The Battle of York signifies a shift of resources by the Antifa movement to fighting fascism in the community, not just the corporate-state cabal. The history of York is of significant importance for the selection of this city by the right-wing organizations. In 1969, Lillie Belle Allen, daughter of an African American preacher was murdered by a group of white people. Over 30 years later, nine men were arrested and charged in connection with the murder, including former York mayor Charlie Robertson. According to Van Deusen and Massot (2010), “While many residents of this small working class city were encouraged to see justice begin to prevail, a small fringe minority of racists saw it different.”<sup>1</sup> Five major organizations – National Alliance, World Church of the Creator, National Socialist Movement, Hammer Skins, and Aryan Nations – planned a meeting at the York Public Library on January 12<sup>th</sup>, 2002.

In response to this meeting, which was essentially an amalgamation of various white supremacists, white nationalists, white

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1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010, pg 161.

separatists, and some other anti-statists who are frustrated by economic decline, crime-ridden communities, and other issues, Anti-Racist Action organized a counter-mobilization effort, providing a strong showing of dissent prior to the start of the meeting. By the early morning, hundreds of riot police assembled around the library, providing security and protection for the maligned organizers of the meeting, making a good faith effort to ensure attendees could enter the event without incident. Security of the Hammer Skins stood in solidarity on the side of the police to facilitate additional protection for the event, creating furvour with Nazi salutes and other rather distasteful actions associated with the neo-Nazi movement. All-in-all, the “fascist” contingent numbered a few hundred, roughly equal to the hundred Black Bloc and approximately three hundred locals counter-mobilized on the anti-fascist side.

Entry into the event was not without incident. Two attendees attempted to drive a pickup truck to the event. The individuals were dragged from their truck and beaten, with their truck suffering a similar fate. Other vehicles were vandalized, and numerous confrontations instigated by both the fascist and anti-fascists ensued during the onset of the event. However, the bulk of action occurred as attendees left the event.

After the event, clashes between event attendees and anti-racists ensued, with the state police on horseback, helicopters, strategically placed police snipers and lookouts, and others attempting to separate the groups. According to Bill of the Dayton, Ohio chapter of National Alliance, the police forced Hammer Skins and others into an alley, where an ambush by anti-racists ensued. Snowballs, Molotov cocktails, knives, and at least two firearms which were confiscated by law enforcement, were utilized by both sides during this event.

Massive brawling occurred on Queen Street, Market Street, and Duke Street. Clubs and hand-to-hand combat ensued, with numerous Hammer Skins knocked unconscious.<sup>1</sup> Upon retreat, vehicle windows were shattered, tires slashed, and riot police utilized pepper spray and clubs to subdue the crowd. Overall, 25 arrests, including 17 from out-of-state, occurred. Twenty-three of the twenty-five arrests were members or sympathizers of the anti-racist coalition.

The arrests included Richard Desper, charged with four counts

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1 According to Van Deusen and Massot, 2010 and supported by other anti-racist organizers in attendance. Claim disputed by WCC and NA members.

of aggravated assault for using his truck to attack police and 3 others, Jonathan Crowell, charged with cruelty to animals for allegedly attacking a police horse, Adam Dohrenwent, for reckless endangerment, Byron Laired, for striking a police horse, and others. John Dirienzo was arrested for drug possession, resulting from a search which occurred during the violent clashes between the right-wing and anti-fascist groups. All-in-all, only one individual received a jail sentence: anti-fascist activist Tim Fasnacht, 90 days imprisonment for disorderly conduct.

Jonathan Crowell, a black bloc member, was accused of “backhanding” a police horse during the clash. According to Crowell, “I sense that a few of the jurors were able to connect with me as a passionate human being who opposes racism and loves animals.” On September 11, 2002, a jury returned a not guilty verdict. Despite the favorable decision, Crowell stated, “Don't worry. I still have no faith in the 'justice' system nor faith in Americans to make reasonable decisions regarding progressive activists or anarchists.”

Another arrest, Tim Fasnacht, received acclaim in the anti-fascist community as a result of him being one of only two people sentenced to incarceration in the York, PA brawl. From his perspective, he witnessed a police officer choking a woman from behind. Subsequently, he “tried to pull the pig off of her. I was immediately talcked to the ground and cuffed.” At his initial trial, a police officer claimed Fasnacht jumped on his back, yet it was proven that he was not at that specific location. The actual officer could not be found to testify after two years of appeals. However, after taking the issue to the highest state court of appeals in Pennsylvania, the decision was upheld, and Fasnacht was forced to serve 90 days imprisonment, most of which was spent in a work-release setting, and pay \$300 in fines.

The most controversial case was that of Rick Desper, who drove his truck into a crowd, striking a police officer, a twelve-year-old African American girl, and multiple Anti-Racist Action activists. Desper was charged with 2 counts of aggravated assault, simple assault, recklessly endangering another person, and a weapons charge. Desper's sentence was 23 months probation and 23 months imprisonment, to which he served less than 8 months of actual jail time.

The end result of this demonstration was increase awareness

drawn to the organizing of right-wing groups with ideologies motivated by racial supremacy, 23 demonstrators arrested on the side of ARA, one woman having a broken arm, another hospitalized after being hit by a truck, and increased solidarity with locals. While mainstream liberals / Democratic Party sympathizers criticized the tactics, the tactics proved more effective at limiting influence by the right-wing groups than any of the attempts by political officials. This incident was the beginning of widespread utilization of street combat to de-platform racial supremacist groups.



Hammer Skin ready to fight, yet police tackle others.

One of the outside provocateurs, waving a Nazi flag.



## Anti-WEF 2002, New York City

The World Economic Forum (WEF), yet another secretive meeting of the world's largest financiers, political leaders, CEOs of multinational corporations, and others chosen out of a select few of the world's elites, was moved from Davos, Switzerland to New York City, with the proceedings planned for Waldorf Astoria. January 31<sup>st</sup> through February 4<sup>th</sup> were the planned days for the events.

Mass organizing and displays of political dissidence were becoming seemingly less socially acceptable, given the post-9/11 environment of fear. Prior to the 9/11 WTC terrorist attack, demonstration attendance numbers rivaling Seattle (N30) were expected. The Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC), Barricada Collective<sup>1</sup>, Anti-Capitalist Convergence, International A.N.S.W.E.R., Columbia University students, and numerous other organizations followed through with protest plans, even though nearly all of the “mainstream left” organizations were absent. Total attendance approximations were around 20,000 to 30,000.

Given N30, R2K, D2K, and other demonstrations, law enforcement and event organizers engaged in multi-pronged attack plan against anti-WEF protesters. Prior to the event, NYPD and others engaged the media, and the media subsequently portrayed the demonstrators in a negative light in a significant majority of articles. “After September 11<sup>th</sup>, anyone who thinks that violence is a legitimate form of protest certainly won't find anyone to agree with them. My guess is New Yorkers won't be very sympathetic,” said Charles McClean, WEF spokesperson.<sup>2</sup> An editorial in the *New York Daily News* described the anti-WEF crowd as “legions of agitators”, “crazies”, and printed a thinly veiled threat: “You have a right to free speech, but try to disrupt this town, and you'll get your anti-globalization butts kicked. Capish?”<sup>3</sup> A *Village Voice* article described

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1 Barricada Collective was defunct at the time of the anti-WEF demonstration in NYC. However, Barricada Collective was central to early planning, and members of the collective participated in the demonstration.

2 Pearce, 2002.

3 I.b.i.d.

the demonstrators as “brick throwers”, “car burners”, “al-Qaeda-like”, and “fundamentalist”.<sup>1</sup> Previous demonstrations have been referred to as “window-smashing, flame-tossing spectacles”, full of “violent mayhem” and “radical protesters rampag[ing] and clashing with police”, and “wild protest melees”.<sup>2</sup>

According to FAIR, the discussion of anti-WEF protests has almost exclusively focused on police preparation for terrorism, not on the philosophical reasons for demonstrations.<sup>3</sup> This was continued through interviews with citizens, where lines-of-questioning utilized during interviews avoided potential discussion of philosophical debate of the socioeconomic and political issues. One New York resident answered, “I don't see any possible outcome to it.. I just don't see the wisdom. This action is a continuation of a political logic that is now outdated and inappropriate. If the anarchists wear balaclavas, the cops won't beat them up. The public will.”<sup>4</sup> With a different line-of-questioning, the New York resident would have likely agreed on economic issues involving stagnant incomes, monetary inflation, job exportation, etc.

This event was a definite show of strength for the police state. Over 3,800 active duty NYPD officers, 700 on-call officers, roof-top snipers, police aircraft, canine and bomb squads, FBI agents, Secret Service operatives, and private security guards. Beau Dietl Associates was hired for security planning. Headed by John Timoney, famous for his role in the R2K debauchery, he sought to create a flawless security system, which he coined “Fortress Waldorf”. Joseph Esposito, NYPD Chief of Patrol, stated the police intended to utilize a 1845 New York state statue which bans protesters from wearing masks for any group of three or more protesters. Ironically, this law was passed in response to tenant farmers disguising themselves in protests against their landlords.

Despite news coverage depicting demonstrators as terrorists, eight preliminary arrests for minor offenses, and attempting to scare

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1 I.b.i.d.

2 Global Policy Forum, 2002. Quotes from *Daily News*, *New York Post*, *New York Times*, & *Newsday*.

3 Pearce, 2002.

4 Parrish, 2002.

away potential protesters through strategic disclosure of police tactics, protesters attended through the first three days in solid numbers, with the third day having the highest attendance. On January 31<sup>st</sup>, a cyber attack shut down the WEF website for 96 hours. Despite having a permit, a march towards Waldorf Astoria to demonstrate was cut short, as the police barricaded the march path short of the end location. Over 200 arrests during WEF occurred, with the usual police use of pepper spray and batons. Unfortunately, the WEF event went on as planned without any stoppages.

Sherman Austin, an anti-WEF activist and Black Bloc, was stopped by NYPD for disorderly conduct, where it was discovered he was wanted by the FBI for a warrant related to a search and seizure at his home approximately one week earlier. Austin, the web-master of RaisetheFist.com, had information about explosives making, was tied to hacking attempts, and explosives-making materials were found at his place of residency. Facing the possibility of a mandatory twenty-year federal sentence, Austin accepted a plea deal for one year federal imprisonment, a \$2,000 fine, and three years probation. Austin's cause is the first case prosecuted under this specific federal statute for publishing explosives information on-line and is commonly used as an example in university law seminars.



## DC 2002 & the Baltimore 28

On April 24<sup>th</sup>, 2002, National Alliance planned a march on Washington, D.C., prior to their split resulting from the death of their founder. Only 400 attended the march, with over 500 counter-demonstrators attending and at least 100 of those counter-demonstrators being Black Bloc. It is likely that more law enforcement officials attended to protect the National Alliance members than actual National Alliance members in attendance. This signifies a declining interest in, or at least willingness to participate in, public advocacy of racial separatist-based reactionary groups. It should be noted that while it is uncertain if any of these members were informants, it is well-documented that reactionary groups during the 1980s-2000s had numerous informants and infiltrators, including the militia associated with Timothy McVeigh, which had FBI informants as well as SPLC staff.

A more serious turn of events took place in Baltimore. Through intelligence channels, it was discovered that neo-Nazi “boneheads” would be meeting there and riding a bus to D.C. A group of approximately two dozen Black Bloc attacked the bus before departure, pepper-spraying the passengers and beating those who attempted to exit. The bus was immobilized. After a few minutes, the Bloc dispersed. Unfortunately, twenty-eight more Black Bloc showed up, likely intending to show up at the same time as the previous group but showing up late to the party. At that point, the police had arrived, and all 28 were quickly arrested. According to Van Deusen and Massot (2010), all 28 individuals had their charges dismissed, and the original attackers have yet to be apprehended. A tactical victory, given no outsiders were injured, and 70 neo-fascists were denied entry into D.C. at the expense of 28 arrests, and even by splitting up forces, more Antifas attended a fascist event than fascists.

## **Against the Iraq War, February 2003**

On February 15<sup>th</sup>, over one million demonstrators internationally demonstrated against Iraq invasion by the Bush administration. More than 500,000 demonstrators took to the streets in New York City alone. The anarchist component was largely organized by a red and black contingent – Workers Solidarity Alliance (W.S.A.), NEFCA, the New York branch of Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), and the Libertarian Book Club (L.B.C.). Numerous injuries occurred as a result of the chaotic events, including elderly women and children who were trampled by police on horseback. At least 311 arrests occurred in New York City. However, according to Van Deusen & Massot (2010), “A number of pigs also injured at the hands of Black Bloc'ers; some requiring medical attention.”<sup>1</sup>

Other cities had massive turnout as well, including 200,00 in San Francisco on January 16<sup>th</sup> and 100,000 in Los Angeles on January 15<sup>th</sup>. In Los Angeles, the call out flier expressed a desire for all anti-authoritarian anti-capitalists to join.

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1 Van Deusen & Massot, 2010, pg 242.

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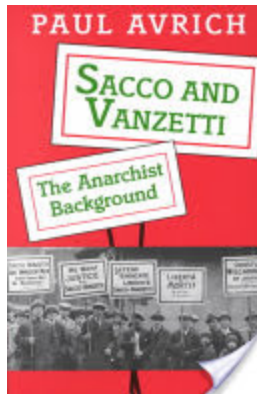
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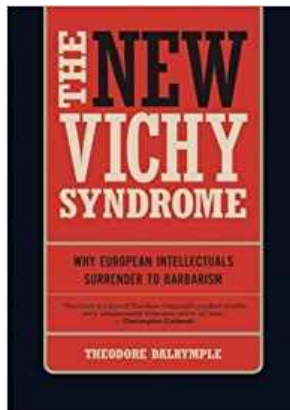
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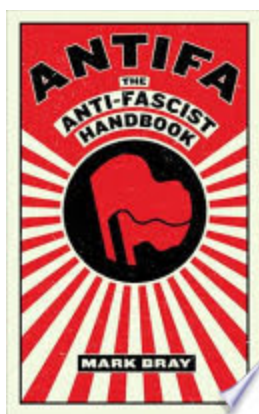


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Barbarism* by Theodore Dalrymple  
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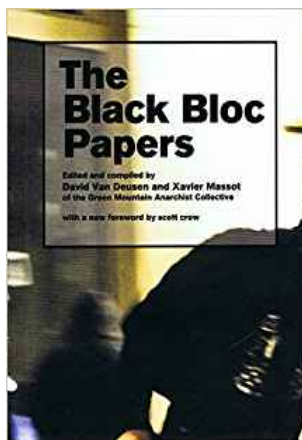
***Militant Anti-Fascism* by M. Testa**

AK Press, 2015



***Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook* by Mark Bray**

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*The Black Bloc Papers* by David van Deusen & Xavier Massot (Eds.)

LBC Books, 2014

# Chapter IV:

## Historical Fascism

### Introduction

“Bash the fash” is a commonly used slogan associated with Antifascist Action (Antifa). Antifa is an anti-fascism group, so it logically follows the enemy is anyone associated with fascism. Fascism in its pure form, a la Mussolini, has been extinct since the early 1940s, so the movement clearly isn't anti-Mussolini. Nazism, in an extremely simplified description, is a variant of fascism with a eugenics component. While national socialism and fascism are technically different political models, the similarities are significant enough to classify both under fascism in a general sense.

The goal of this chapter is to provide historical context for fascism, utilizing four historical regimes with varying levels of compliance with the doctrine of fascism. Historical fascist groups and other regimes with qualities of fascism, or being labeled as such, will also be discussed.

In any social movement seeking to change the status quo in society, the enemy must be clearly defined. Everyone has a different mental image of “fascist” or “Nazi”. By exploring fascism throughout history to the present day, the goal is to define fascism, demonstrate how the definition of fascism has evolved and clearly define the enemies of Antifa.

## Benito Mussolini & the Original Fascist Movement



The Italian symbol for Fascism commonly displayed on uniforms.

***“In the Fascist conception of history, man is man only by virtue of spiritual process to which he contributes as a member of the family, them as a social group, the nation, and in function of history to which all nations bring their contribution.”<sup>1</sup>***

The original fascist movement, Mussolini's Fascist Party of Italy, emerged as a result of a combination of individual circumstances and social, economic and political factors leading up to and immediately following World War I. Fearing a proletariat uprising similar to the Bolshevik revolution which brought Joseph Stalin into power of the Soviet Union, unfavorable economic conditions as a result of war and a possessing a grave distrust of the current Italian government, led by Prime Minister Luigi Facta, many Italians – including Italian Catholics – were willing to take up arms and overthrow the perceived corruption of the time.

However, without the Italian Socialist Party revoking Benito Mussolini's membership as a result of his pro-war stance, Mussolini would have likely remained a lifelong socialist. “You cannot get rid of

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1 Quote by Benito Mussolini, from *The Doctrine of Fascism*, 1932.

me because I am and always will be a socialist. You hate me because you still love me”, Mussolini exclaimed, post-expulsion from the Italian Socialist Party in 1914<sup>1</sup>. Despite using the socialist party as a common enemy to unite the country against, the bulk of policy influence can be traced back to Mussolini's previous involvement in socialist movements.

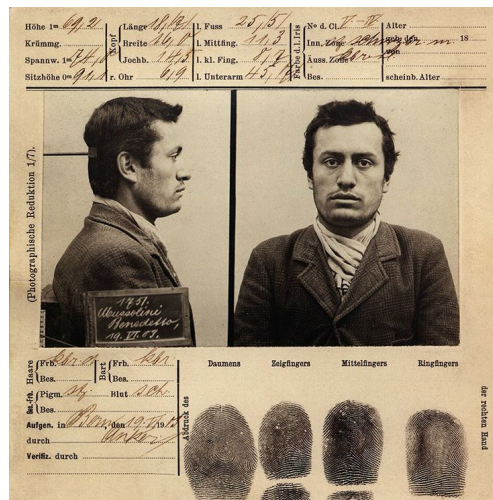
Mussolini's early exposure to socialist policies influenced his later political views and actions as leader of the Fascist Party. Throughout his childhood, Mussolini was exposed to a positive view of socialism and revolution. Mussolini was born Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini, with the name Benito inspired by the Mexican revolutionary Benito Juarez, and the two middle names associated with two historical heroes of anarchist-socialism, Amilcare Cipriani and Andrea Costa. His father, Alessandro, served on the local socialist council. Per Benito, Alessandro's “heart and mind were always filled and pulsing with socialist theories”.<sup>2</sup>

In 1902, Mussolini emigrated to Switzerland to avoid compulsory military service in the Italian Royal Army. During his time in Switzerland, Mussolini became exposed to the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche and syndicalist Georges Sorel. Georges Sorel openly advocated for the use of violent force to overthrow liberal democracy and capitalism. Mussolini gradually became more and more actively involved in the socialist movement, working as a journalist for *L'Avvenire del Lavatore* and as a secretary for the Italian worker's union in Lausanne. Gaining a reputation as being a problematic individual and potential revolutionary, Mussolini was arrested (Figure 1.1) for inciting political violence during a general labor strike in Berne, Switzerland, and was subsequently reported back to Italy.

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1 Quote by Benito Mussolini, from Denis Mack Smith's *Mussolini: A Biography*, 1983, pg. 8.

2 Quote from Jonah Goldberg's *Liberal Fascism*, page 31.



Benito Mussolini's booking document from arrest.

Following deportation to Italy, Mussolini became active in the Italian socialist movement, working his way up the ranks in the Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI, or the Italian Socialist Party). He sought change through revolutionary, not political, action, as evidenced by his comment following a 1913 police shooting of seven protesting farmworkers, “Death to those who massacre the people! Long live the revolution!”<sup>1</sup> His involvement in PSI was relatively short-lived, as a result of his support for Socialist International (SI), a socialist and communist organization who supported violent insurrections and revolutionary action in general during the early twentieth century. The neutral stance of PSI was detrimental to Italy's own interests, per Mussolini, and was the beginning of his split from the socialists in the country.

After his split with PSI, Mussolini served in the Regio Esercito Italiano (Royal Italian Army) until 1917, when he suffered physical injury and was discharged unceremoniously. After serving in World War I and observing the detrimental effects of the war on the Italian economy and the morale of the Italian people, Mussolini shifted his focus away from pure socialism to a nationalism / socialism hybrid

1 Quote by Benito Mussolini. Cited in David Kertzer (2014)'s *The Pope & Mussolini*.

platform, created under the Partito Nazionale Fascista (National Fascist Party). NFP gained significant support from the military, business class, other right-wing aligned groups such as the conservative party. This spawned a militant group of revolutionaries, Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale, more commonly known as the Squadristi or “Blackshirts”.

Gaining a majority following required making compromises, engaging in scare tactics and drafting a variety of truces. Mussolini attempted to create a truce with the PSI. Mussolini drafted the Pacification Pact, which was dissolved in less than a year, in November 1921. Even though he was unable to create an alliance with the Italian Socialist Party, the National Fascist Party continued to gain support, with approximately 700,000 members in July 1922<sup>1</sup>. In August 1922, an anti-fascist movement attempted a general strike, but failed as a result of lack of support from the general population.

Even though Mussolini was unable to win over the majority of identified socialists in Italy, he utilized his persuasiveness on other important demographic groups within Italy. One key group was returning veterans, with hundreds of thousands of veterans returning from World War I unable to locate work<sup>2</sup>. Mussolini identified issues with winning veterans over with communism and socialism, given the typical veteran's sense of camaraderie and strong national identity. Mussolini explained his socialist-influenced policies under the guise of nationalism to the veterans who felt abandoned after the war, given the inability of the Italian government to provide all of the necessary services and pensions due to financial collapse and the lack of readily available employment. The veterans provided the Fascist Party with a strong group of allies, both prior to the coup d'etat as well as in the early years of the regime.

The region where Italy resides is historically known for Rome, where the Vatican is located. Until 1870, the Pope was the authority over Rome and the surrounding area. However, with the unification of the kingdom of Italy, the Papal States lost control over a significant portion of previously held land. As a result, the papacy held a grudge

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1    Statistic obtained from David Kertzer's *The Pope & the Dictator* (2014), pg 24.

2    David Kertzer's *The Pope and the Dictator*, page 25.



against the Italian government. Prior to the 1921 election, the Catholic Popular Party, fighting against the upcoming Fascists, were able to gain parliamentary seats, up to 107, with the Fascists only being elected to 35 seats. The Conservatives constructed a coalition with the Fascist party to gain a parliamentary majority. When Parliament convened, Mussolini gave his first speech, where he discussed the importance of Rome being the spiritual home for hundreds of millions of Catholics throughout the world and his desire to restore a Christian society<sup>i</sup>. Convincing the Pope to abandon the Catholic Popular Party and embrace the Fascist Party was essential to Mussolini's rise into power, as it provided him with a significant base to draw support. While seemingly an incompatible alliance – the Fascists and the Papacy – both Mussolini and the Catholic Church sought an ending of the liberal democratic regime, as well as a restoration of an orderly, authoritarian political structure.

1922 was the year of the Fascists rise to power and overthrow of the existing government. Pope Pius XI, the newly elected pope, was concerned about Mussolini and his National Fascist Party, especially given violence against Catholic Action, while simultaneously questioning whether it would be a good idea to directly oppose the Blackshirts. Witnessing the crushing defeats the socialists and other opposition groups experienced during the spring and summer of 1922, and while possessing a negative view of parliamentary government, Pope Pius XI refused to align himself with the Catholic Party, nor with any other political party initially, and Cardinal Gasparri, the Vatican Secretary of State, mailed out a circular to all Italian bishops advising political neutrality.

In October 1922, Mussolini and the Quadrumvirates, consisting of Emilio de Bono, Michele Bianchi, Italo Balbo and Cesare De Vecchi, proceeded with a plan for the National Fascist Party to siege control of Rome. A few days prior to the March on Rome, Mussolini contacted the United States Ambassador Richard Washburn Child, who provided encouragement to proceed with his plans. Led by the Quadrumvirs, the March on Rome proceeded, followed by the current leader, Prime Minister Luigi Facta, ordering a state of seige on Rome and requested assistance from King Victor Emannuel III. Under pressure from Mussolini and the National Fascist Party, King Emannuel III refused to

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i David Kertzer's *The Pope and the Dictator*, page 27.

sign Prime Minister Facta's military order and subsequently, on October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1922, the king granted Benito Mussolini the position of Prime Minister.

***“Always an irresponsible improviser, a half madman, half criminal, gifted only – but to the highest degree – in the arts of ‘propaganda’ and mystification.”<sup>1</sup>***

Following Mussolini's coup d'etat, he sought to forge strategic alliances to ensure his ability to remain in power, and in favor with the populace. Given Rome, and the kingdom of Italy in general, and historic and present strong ties to the Catholic Church, Mussolini saw an opportunity to gain public support and stave off potential rebellion by forming a strong alliance with the Catholic Church. This seemingly conflicts with Mussolini's early history of despising Christianity and the perceived corruption of the Catholic Church. However, when an alliance was a net positive for supporting his dictatorial agenda, Mussolini repeatedly had no issue with making compromises with portions of his ideology to advance towards his political ends.

Restoring order to Italy appeared to be immensely difficult in the first few years. As a result, Mussolini appointed himself “Il Duce”, the dictator, in 1925. Given his core political views being socialist, he utilized price controls and nationalization of commerce to attempt to improve the value of the lira, which was in decline as a result of international speculation against non-gold-backed currencies. His deflationary policy and mandatory wage decreases had limited effectiveness in the short-term, other than to boost the value of Italian exports on the international market. His other planned economy policies had mixed results throughout his administration.

Mussolini sought to build the Italian people into a strong group of nationalistic militants. The Opera Nazionale Balilla included seven youth organizations designed to create a future generation of loyal Italian fascists. University students were required to join Gioventu Universitaria Fascista (GUF) as a monitoring mechanism for anti-fascist views. Mussolini's relationship with the Pope was treacherous at times, given reports of violence against competing youth groups, especially

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1 Quote by Gaetano Salvemini, from Stephan Corrado Azzi's “The Histiography of Fascist Foreign Policy”. *The Historical Journal*, 36(1), March 1993.

Catholic Action. Mussolini attempted to distance himself from the violent actions, and at times publicly derided those who participated in violent action against Catholic groups, when it favored his administration.

Most people are unaware of Mussolini's early years, with the mainstream focus of Mussolini being on the late 1930s through the end of World War II. Mussolini sought to expand Italy's power by briefly conquering Eithiopia and Albania, and forming an alliance with Adolf Hitler, a regime with a relatively similar approach to governance as the National Fascist Party. Due to technological inferiority and a profoundly weaker military, especially compared to the Germans and the combined Allied forces, Mussolini lost control over a significant portion of Italy. In late 1942, Mussolini was removed from power by the King, and subsequently installed as a puppet dictator over northern Italy by Hitler until the end of the war.

After the Axis forces surrendered to the Allied forces, Mussolini attempted to flee to Switzerland, disguised as a German soldier. While traveling with a German convoy near the village of Dongo, communist-led forces under command of Pier Luigi Bellini delle Stelle and Urban Lazzaro halted the convoy. Bellini delle Stelle and Lazzaro demanded all Italians be handed over, and in return, the German convoy would be permitted to proceed. As a result, Mussolini and his passengers, disguised as Germans, were discovered, taken captive, and on the following day, Mussolini, his mistress and sixteen other Fascist leaders were executed per orders from Communist Party leadership.

Whenever discussing fascism in an academic or historical sense, the most proper definition is that of Mussolini, a nationalistic form of socialism (differentiated from communism, which tends to be international, and socialism, which seeks to break down prior nationalistic bonds), where the state is the central authority in all matters, and classical liberal ideals such as individualism are rejected in favor of collectivism. Depending on the political spectrum utilized, Fascism is labeled as either a far-right ideology, or a far-left ideology, and unlike communism, where the stated, but never materializing, Utopian end goal is a complete abolition of the state, Fascism recognizes the constant need for a strong, central state.

If Mussolini and the National Fascist Party are the sole

reference for constructing a definition of what fascism is, then fascism may be defined as follows: a form of authoritarian governance consisting of collectivist and nationalistic policies, with a planned economy consisting of a significant majority of industry being under national control. However, this definition of fascism fails to encompass the ideology Antifa and other modern-day anti-fascist groups are fighting against, except on possibly a superficial level, where both Antifa's modern day perception of fascism and Mussolini's NFP are totalitarian, nationalistic systems with populist elements. The strong sense of national identity common to Fascism conflicts with the anarchist-communist rejection of the state.

## Adolf Hitler & the Nazi Party



The National Socialist German Worker's Party flag.

The political ideology of Nazism, or “fascism with a small 'f’”<sup>1</sup>, was essentially a different phenomenon from Italian Fascism, despite being geographically and historically bound together. Fascism is only briefly discussed in *Mein Kampf*, with total coverage of less than a few paragraphs, Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, while holding some mutual respect for each other, frequently criticized each other, with Hitler referring to Italian Fascism as “Kosher fascism” and Mussolini referring to Hitler as a “gramophone with just seven tunes and once he finished playing them he started all over again”<sup>2</sup>.

Nazism and Italian Fascism shared the traits and ideals of both being socialist movements, with the focus being on nationalism instead of globalism, reactionary in the sense of wanting to restore previously held values of the common people through a recreation of tribal impulses, a focus on building a strong military and utilizing military force to quash counter-movements, centralized dictatorial power and a hatred of Lockean liberalism and a desire to nationalize industry. Both were totalitarian movements with more in common with far left movements such as communism and socialism than right-wing

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1 Jonah Goldberg's *Liberal Fascism*, pg 53.

2 Both quotes obtained from a secondary source: Jonah Goldberg's *Liberal Fascism*. The source materials utilized by Goldberg were reviewed for historical accuracy and may be obtained from pages 54 and 56 of aforementioned book.

movements of libertarianism and conservatism. As stated by Jonah Goldberg (2014) in *Liberal Fascism*, “The battle between the Nazis and the communists was a case of two dogs fighting for the same bone.” Richard Pipes stated, “Bolshevism and Fascism were heresies of socialism.”<sup>1</sup>

Nazism differed from Italian Fascism with the focus on identity politics, especially focused on race, with the pinnacle group being the German of antiquity, and the scourge being capitalists, communists and so-called cowards, all of whom were portrayed as being part of a Jewish menace, while Mussolini's regime included persons of Jewish-origin up to the time when Adolf Hitler invaded and took over the bulk of Italy. Antisemitism was hardly a unique ideal to Nazism, as Joseph Stalin espoused antisemitic views in the Soviet Union as well. While Mussolini ensured universal suffrage for Italians, Adolf Hitler expressed a fear of women, considering them to be nothing more than “terrifying syphilis carriers”<sup>2</sup>.

Adolf Hitler's early years influenced his desire to advance the Nazi Party in his later years. As a young adult, Hitler became increasingly repelled by the values held by the German bourgeoisie, as well as perceiving a cultural shift away from so-called German people to a multicultural society, with Judaism having a perceived negative impact on the strong German people. Young Hitler was influenced by his hero, Dr. Karl Lueger, the head of the Christian Social Party, who espoused populist, antisemitic and socialist-inspired views. While working with Anton Drexler, he expressed the importance of focusing on the common good of the German people over individualism and liberty. Young Adolf was rejected to art school on two separate applications and spent a period of time after World War I incarcerated, both events which are believed to have impacted his disgust with society and desire for revolution.

Adolf Hitler served during World War I, leaving the service at the end of the war as a corporal. Unlike the socialist-leaning and communist party members, Hitler was furious at the surrender. However, in the late 1910s, Germany surrendered the war, signed the

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1 Page 72 for first quote and page 74 for second quote of aforementioned book.

2 Mentioned on pge 62 of Jonah Goldberg's *Liberal Fascism*.

Treaty of Versailles and in the early 1920s, entered a period where due to industrial collapse, infrastructure destruction and restitution imposed by the Allied forces, leading to the collapse of the German, reaching 4 billion marks per one U.S. Dollar in November 1923<sup>1</sup>. This led to increasing discontent amongst German citizens of all socioeconomic and political groups, but especially those labeled as “right-wing”: the conservatives and other fringe groups such as the up-and-coming Nazi Party, both of which never accepted the authority of the newly formed Republican government, nor fully acknowledged the validity of the Treaty of Versailles.

The Beer Hall Putsch was one of the first attempts at overthrowing the Republic. Hitler entered the Buergerbraukeller, with S.A. troops surrounding the hall, with a revolver in hand, while the Bavarian ruling triumvirate of Gustav von Kahr, Colonel Hans Ritter von Seisser and General Otto von Lossow sat helplessly and were subsequently forced into a back room, where after multiple threats were made by Hitler, deceptively agreed to accept positions within the supposed new government. With the help of WWI General Erich Ludendorff, Hitler began a march on Munich similar to Mussolini's March on Rome which occurred approximately one year prior. While disorganized and ultimately unsuccessful at its immediate goals, resulting in Hitler's arrest and subsequent 5 year, released after 8 months, sentence, it provided Hitler with adequate time to write *Mein Kampf*, as well as gain notoriety around the Nation. From this point in history until after the 1933 election, Hitler decided to adhere to the law, to gain the support of the German people through available legal routes, such as the electoral process and coalition-building<sup>2</sup>.

Upon Hitler's release from incarceration, he pondered what it would take to recreate a folklike traditional German state, focused on the archetypal German. A German who is physically strong, dedicated to the German people and advancement of a pure German race. From 1925 to 1929, the Nazi Party was rather stagnant. However, Hitler persevered and continued to organize. Two political organizations were created within the party, with P.O. I having a focus on undermining the government and P.O. II having the focus of establishing a Nazi state

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1 Pg 61 of William Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

2 Specific historical information obtained from William Shrier's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, pgs 68 – 79.

within Germany, prior to a complete takeover. Operatives were placed in states outside of the Republic, including Austria and the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia<sup>1</sup>.

The Nazi Party continued to gain public support and seats following the 1929 depression, which was felt around the world. In January 1932, Adolf Hitler was faced with a decision: to attempt to run for the presidency against a very strong, highly favored candidate in Hindenburg and risk a loss, which would be a significant setback, or wait until a later election or pursue another plan of action. Despite having Joseph Goebbels and others within his campaign urge him to run, Hitler did not release an official decision until late February – a decision which was announced not by Hitler, but by Goebbels. In the first round of March voting, Hitler only obtained 30.1% of the vote, placing second and over 7 million votes behind Hindenburg, who failed to capture a majority. This created the necessity for a second round of voting, where Hitler was able to close the gap somewhat, cutting Hindenburg's lead down to less than 6 million votes, but Hindenburg was able to gain a majority in the second round, winning 53% of the vote to Hitler's 36.8%<sup>2</sup>.

On July 31<sup>st</sup>, the parliamentary elections concluded with the Nazi Party winning 230 of 608 seats, not a majority but the most of any other party by a significant margin<sup>3</sup>. Over the following few months, chaos ensued in the Republican government, with Hitler and the Nazi Party attempting to gain control. Finally, on January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1933, Adolf Hitler was awarded the chancellorship.

For the sake of brevity, the period from 1933 to 1945 will be covered in a cursory fashion in the remainder of this section, followed by a discussion of the national socialist platform and how it compares to Italian fascism. In the current year, the labels 'fascist' and 'nazi' are thrown around rather recklessly, without a real understanding of the semantics.

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- 1 Information in this paragraph obtained from *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler and pg 110-121 in William Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.
  - 2 Voting totals obtained from a secondary resource, William Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.
  - 3 Pages 166 and 167 of William Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.



Following his appointment to Chancellor of Germany by the Weimar Republic President Paul von Hindenburg, Hitler eliminated all of the political opposition and many of the political offices, replacing with Nazi Party (NSDAP) members when deemed necessary. Upon Hindenburg's death on August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1934, Hitler merged the Presidency and Chancellorship into a single position, resulting in Hitler being the sole Fuhrer of Germany. Germany was under totalitarian control, similar to Mussolini's position in Italy.

Hitler showed initial success implementing a planned, mixed economy, relying on heavy military spending, extensive public works and other projects, which facilitated the sharp decline in unemployment in Germany. These policies were similar to Mussolini's nationalization of industry and mixed economy approach in Italy. The economic policy possessed a racial component, prioritizing the well-being of “only those who have German blood, regardless of creed”<sup>1</sup>. The following points of Hitler's National Socialist Platform focused on economic growth, limiting or eliminating opportunities to non-Germans, and ensuring those who are considered pure German had access to employment and other resources:

7. We demand that the State shall above all undertake to ensure that every citizen shall have the possibility of living decently and earning a livelihood. If it should not be possible to feed the whole population, then aliens (non-citizens) must be expelled from the Reich.

8. Any further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who have entered Germany since August 2, 1914, shall be compelled to leave the Reich immediately.

Therefore we demand:

**11.** That all unearned income, and all income that does not arise from work be abolished.

**12.** Since every war imposes on the people fearful sacrifices in blood and treasure, all personal profit arising from the war must be regarded as treason to the people. We therefore demand the total confiscation of all war profits.

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1 Discussed in *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler.

13. We demand the nationalization of all trusts.

14. We demand profit-sharing in large industries.

15. We demand a generous increase in old-age pensions.

16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a sound middle-class, the immediate communalization of large stores which will be rented cheaply to small tradespeople, and the strongest consideration must be given to ensure that small traders shall deliver the supplies needed by the State, the provinces and municipalities.<sup>1</sup>

Similar to international socialism / communism as well as Italian fascism, the “common good before individual good” was emphasized. Individualism was suppressed, and with Hitler's regime and unlike Mussolini's, gypsies, Jews, immigrants of non-German or non-Aryan blood, the mentally ill and other groups deemed inferior were suppressed and as a result of the Holocaust, many tragically lost their lives.

Nazism and fascism are both totalitarian government systems, with nationalized industry, focused on the state as the central authority. In both systems, the state is higher than any outside group, including the Catholic Church. However, when beneficial, both Mussolini and Hitler coordinated with the papacy for their own gain. Militarism is a focus of both systems. One system had the “blackshirts” and the other had the “brownshirts”. Numerous similarities at minimum place Fascism and Nazism next to each other on the political spectrum.

Nazism differs from fascism in practice and policy in a few major areas. The most important difference is the focus on race. While Mussolini had a general idea of the archetypal Italian, he did not implement race-based policies in the manner of Hitler. In Nazism, those of non-German blood were an inferior class, incapable of mobilizing and improving conditions. Resources were allocated for those individuals who Hitler deemed to be pure Germans. In Mussolini's system, some social mobility was possible, with Jews

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1 All quoted points from the Nazi Party Platform were obtained from The History Place. “25 Points of Hitler's Nazi Party”. Accessed August 7, 2017, from <http://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/riseofhitler/25points.htm> and subsequently verified through reading of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, as well as William Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

holding high office positions until Hitler took over Italy in the early 1940s.

In summary, both Nazism and Fascism are dictatorship systems of a radical authoritarian nationalist type, utilizing socialist policies such as a planned economy and a focus on the greater good for the community over individual rights. Both reject classical liberalism and anarchism. Both reject Marxism, but implement numerous Marxist policies when it comes to the economy. Both systems encourage revolution and focus on middle-class over the so-called bourgeoisie. Despite being placed on the far-right of a typical left-right political spectrum, Fascism, Nazism, Socialism and Communism are all totalitarian systems, with planned economies, communalism over individualism, making Fascism and Nazism much like two siblings fighting over the same toy. Nationalism is what differentiates Fascism from authoritarian Marxist systems of governance.

One final issue, enforced in Italian Fascism and Nazism, but also a frequently discussed issue by the Progressives in the United States: gun control. Even before the Nazis became the dominant party in Germany, gun control laws were passed, such as the 1928 Firearms Law. One of the first laws passed by Hitler stripped gun ownership rights away from numerous groups deemed to be inferior or dangerous, including the Jews and Communists<sup>1</sup>. The totalitarian, hyper-militaristic nature of the state in fascist regimes, in order to ensure dominance over the people, requires limitations on access to firearms to the common people, or at minimum, severe restrictions on access of firearms to members of sociocultural and political organizations deemed to be enemies of the state.

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1 Page 29 in Stephen Halbrook's *Gun Control in the Third Reich*. Information verified in other materials as well, including Peter Hayes's *From Cooperation to Complicity*, Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and William Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

## Japanese Fascism



Figure 1.4 – Imperial Rule Assistance Association (Taisei Yokusankai) symbol.

Extending the definition of Fascism a bit further, the World War II-era Japanese system of governance has been associated with fascism, even being labeled as fascist by some. While definitely not a true fascist system as compared to Italian Fascism, the Japanese system includes enough elements of fascism to be worthy of at least a cursory discussion.

The Japanese have a long, storied history, starting as a group of loosely linked tribes who began to unify during the Kofun, Asuka, Nara and Heian periods. In 794, Heian-kyo, modern-day Kyoto, became the capital of Japan, marking the beginning of the Heian period, also referred to as the golden age. Throughout the bulk of Japanese history, the Japanese were rather isolated from Western culture. This changed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – the period of Japanese history that will be the focus of discussion in this book.

The Meiji era (1868 – 1912) signified the first half of the modern Japanese empire – a shift from an isolated feudal system to a modern, international powerhouse. It also signified the start of a shift towards the Japanese imperialist system, totalitarian in nature, of Japan's World War II era. In 1868, the Five Charter Oath was passed, which allowed all socioeconomic classes to be involved in politics, revoked laws restricting certain social groups from certain types of employment, a shift towards a fair legal system and advocacy for advancing and strengthening imperial rule. The stated goal was to

establish a democratic system of governance, which was established in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1912, the Taisho era began. This era lasted until 1926, a much shorter period mostly due to the sickly nature of Emperor Taisho. Japan allied itself with the Allies, who permitted Japan to expand its influence in Asia, expanding its empire into Chinese territories. Japan was a major producer of industrial goods during the war, resulting in significant financial gains during the war, as well as continued prosperity as a result of industrial growth following the war. Taisho governed with more progressive approach than the previous emperor, expanding state authority and involvement in industry and societal issues. Towards the end of the Taisho era, parliamentary influence decreased and the influence of military leaders increased, resulting in a militarization of the government.

In 1923, a major earthquake occurred in the Tokyo and surrounding area, which destroyed over 60 percent of residential properties and killed approximately 100,000 citizens. In the aftermath, widespread looting and arson occurred, which many blamed on individuals of non-Japanese ethnicity – especially the Koreans – and leftists – especially the communists and socialists. Japanese mobs took to the streets, assaulting and murdering those accused of being associated with the criminal activity. Many historians believe the earthquake and its immediate aftermath triggered a society shift towards ultra-nationalism.

In 1926, the Showa era began, which ended in 1989, with the death of the emperor of this period, Emperor Hirohito. In the preceding paragraphs, only a very cursory overview of Japanese imperialism was covered – just enough to provide enough background information for you, the reader, to do further research if this is a topic of interest to you. The late 1920s is where the government takes a serious turn towards policies compatible with fascism.

Common to other fascist regimes, the leader is assumed to be not only the civil leader, but also the spiritual leader, of the country. Italian Fascism superficially appears to violate this claim. However, Mussolini frequently battled the Pope for ultimate authority, and only made successions when it was of benefit. Economic depression hit Japan, as well as much of the rest of the world, during 1929. This,

combined with rising militarism and a series of political assassinations, provided an excuse for Emperor Hirohito to fire the Prime Minister. The replacement Prime Minister was assassinated in 1932, by officers of the Japanese Navy. Subsequent Prime Ministers were drawn from military leaders, not from civilian positions. Militarism, and drawing leadership from military positions instead of civil positions, is a common theme amongst the Japanese Imperial government, and the German Nazi and Italian Fascist governments.

Italy sought to expand into Africa, taking brief control over Eithiopia and Albania; Germany sought to expand into the rest of Europe, seizing control over Czechoslovakia, Poland, France and numerous other nations. Japan, much like the previously mentioned regimes, sought to take control over much of East Asia, seizing control over Manchuria and other areas of East Asia. The Japanese Army engaged in vile actions of brutality, including massacring over. While Hirohito did not provide expressed consent to rape and murder innocent civilians, he failed to condone the actions of the military.

In September 1940, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact, where Japan, Italy and Germany mutually agreed to assist each other in case of an attack. This alliance was not unexpected, given the similarities in governance and ultimate goals, as well as enough geographic separation between each state. When Germany advanced close to Italy, Germany appeared to have no hesitation with conquering Italy as well, only keeping Mussolini around as a puppet dictator of Northern Italy. Given enough time and resources, any of these 3 nations would likely have attempted to conquer the entire planet, or at least the entire continent on which each subsided.

Anyone reading this book likely knows the end result of World War II. Japan surrendered after being firebombed and having two atomic bombs dropped, one on Nagasaki and the other on Hiroshima. Numerous books have been written on this subject, and the specifics are not important to this book. However, what is important is whether or not the Japanese imperialist government qualifies as an example of a fascist nation. While not a wholly fascist nation, exploring this example is beneficial to determine how to assess whether or not the categorization of fascist is appropriate for a given group.

Japan gradually moved towards a state-controlled economy

prior to and especially during World War II. Japan attempted to silence critics of civilian and military policy, and after the death of the Prime Minister in 1932, the Prime Minister was chosen from the military. Militarism, a key factor associated with fascism, as well as a state-controlled economy, were both present in Japan. Japan engaged in military conquests to expand the state, and the Japanese society shifted towards ultra-nationalism, especially after the Earthquake.

Nazism focused on suppressing certain groups. Italian Fascism did not, and neither did Japan. Japan passed universal suffrage for men over the age of 25 in the mid-1920s. Italy and Germany both sought to take power away from so-called leftist groups – especially the communists and socialists – as did Japan.

The difficulty in assessing whether or not Japan can be classified as a fascist nation is not the previously discussed similarities to Nazism and Italian Fascism, but whether or not the above characteristics were a direct result of wartime policy or whether it was a separate shift in ideology that would have occurred regardless of the war and economic conditions. Hirohito's policies changed after the war, and Japan gradually shifted to a free market economy. It is unlikely that either Mussolini or Hitler would have allowed their nations to shift towards a free market economy had either stayed in power following World War II.

## Spanish Fascism



1942 - 1975 flag of Spain.

Spain in the 1930s is an interesting study in government coup d'etats, as the government changed from a monarchy, to a liberal republic, to a nationalistic military regime within a single decade. Given that the Spanish government mostly abstained from fighting in World War II, refusing to take sides with either the Allied or Axis forces, the government emerging from the civil war was able to remain in power for many decades after the end of World War II. This creates a potential interesting study into the potential viability of fascist policies.

Attempts at liberal uprisings in Spain were not unique to the 1930s. Twelve successful coups occurred between 1814 and 1874, typically ending with a restoration of the monarchy. Nor were military coups unique to the 1930s, with a 1923 coup d'etat by the military which brought Miguel Primo de Rivera into power. The century prior to the Spanish Civil War was tumultuous, with conflicts occurring within and between various political groups. Anarchists, socialists, liberals, conservatives and monarchists struggled for rights and power.

On April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1931, royalist parties were handily defeated in the elections, in favor of liberal-leaning and socialist-leaning candidates. Despite winning the election and having a popular support, the Catholic organizations, monarchists and royalist-sympathizers, numerous military leaders and other so-called right-wing groups continued to



organize and attempted to destabilize the government.

Civil unrest continued. Radicals on the left burned Catholic convents following the election. Several conflicts ensued, including a numerous conflicts between a syndicalist group, Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), which grew to approximately 1 million members in 1932, and the Civil Guard, general strikes by worker's unions and other protests<sup>i</sup>. General Jose Sanjurjo attempted a military coup d'etat in August 1932, which failed and led to his subsequent incarceration.

In 1933, the government shifted towards a more right-leaning, militaristic government, as a result of winning the popular vote. The anarchists mostly abstained from voting – a group which tended to vote for left-leaning candidates. Alejandro Lerroux of the Radical Republican Party (RRP) reversed many of the liberal policies of the previous administration, and despite facing outrage from left-leaning groups, granted amnesty to the collaborators of General Jose Sanjurjo attempted coup d'etat. Wages of farm workers were cut and the military was purged of left-leaning individuals. Neither side was able to capture a majority in the government in the 1936 elections, and many leaders ignored supposed conspiracy theories regarding a possible attempt by the military to overthrow the government.

During the period leading up to the Spanish Civil War, many factions on the Nationalist-wing organized. Collaboration between the key groups would be necessary to ensure success in acquiring control. The republican opposition was also very fragmented. While not necessary for the discussion of fascism specifically, the group dynamics of the Spanish Civil War are relevant to the discussion of current group dynamics between groups in the U.S.

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i Data obtained from Anderson's *The Spanish Civil War*, and verified through two other references, Hochschild's *Spain in Our Hearts* and Beevor's *The Battle for Spain*.

## The Nationalists



(Top-left to bottom-left, clockwise) Carlist flag, previously used in Catholic monarchy, CEDA flag, Falangist flag, Monarchist flag.

On the right, four key groups emerged: Carlists, the Confederacion Espanola de Derechase Autonomas (CEDA), the Monarchists and the Falange. In order to win the war, and implement a cohesive government, General Franco required each group to pledge support for his cause.

The Monarchist (Alfonsine) party supported the traditional royal family, the descendants of Queen Isabella II, who was the daughter of Ferdinand VIII. At the time of the Spanish Civil War, the royal lineage consisted of King Alfonso XIII, who went into exile upon the rise of the Republican government, and his son, Don Juan. Despite only having marginal public support, support amongst Nationalist army officers was significant. With the monarchy perceived as a necessity for a return of the morality, values and cultural norms of “Old Spain”, any coup d'etat either respect the traditional monarchical lineage, or at minimum, implement a social structure compatible with that of old Spain<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Traditional political party information obtained from Beevor's *The Spanish*

Two major organizations emerged to support the Nationalist movement during the war, Accion Espanola and Renovacion Espanola. Both organizations are linked together, with Accion Espanola consisting of intellectuals advancing the ideals of monarchical Spain through literature, and Renovacion Espanola serving as the political party wing of the group. Both organizations fought for preservation and advancement of La Raza, ethnic-cultural identitarianism focusing on the pure Spanish people and in some cases, Roman Catholic tradition. With the monarchists, the focal point was not on Catholicism, but ethnic identity. An analogous organization to Accion Espanola in modern-day America is Richard Spencer's National Policy Institute.

The monarchists weren't the only ultra-conservative, traditionalist sect of the Nationalist movement – the Carlists (Communion Tradicionalistas) sought the return and preservation of similar ideals. The point of contention, however, revolved around the monarchical lineage source: the Carlists rejected the aforementioned in favor of the rival Borbon line of Don Carlos. Placing a much more significant emphasis on Catholicism, this sect sought the implementation of a fundamentalist Catholic monarchy. Widespread support for the Carlists was lacking, but regional support, especially amongst the Navarrese, was significant enough to require support to ensure continued unification of the Spanish Kingdom.

Three groups within the Carlists provided auxiliary support to the Nationalist movement: the Requetés (Carlist militia), pelayos (the youth movement), and margaritas (women's services). The Requetés, hailing mostly from Navarre, were an ultra-religious militia who regarded the Spanish Civil War as necessary, as a Crusade, and traveled with holy figures, important for morale, motivation and spiritual support.

Carlist Generals were reluctant in negotiations with General Francisco Franco. Despite also fighting against the Republicans, and both groups holding traditional values, the Carlists were more heavily in favor of God above all else, but also were in favor of regional rights, instead of a unified kingdom with Christian values, on a more equitable plane. Manuel Fal Conde, the political leader of the Carlists, frequently

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*Civil War* (in front of book) and BBC's documentary, *The Spanish Civil War*, a six part TV series released in 1983.

clashed with General Franco, and as a result, left for Portugal for temporary leave. Shortly after, in early 1937, the Carlists finally united with the Falange, which tilted the Nationalists towards a favorable outcome in the war.

The Confederacion Espanola de Derechas Autonomas (CEDA), is a consolidation of the conservative right, present before the Spanish Civil War. Aacion Popular and Parti Agrario, with the youth movement Juventudes de Accion Popular, combined to form CEDA. The coalition of right-wing groups were mostly Catholic, and highly competitive with the Republicans, given their staunch anti-Marxist stance. While Carlists viewed the Spanish Civil War as a religious crusade, CEDA viewed it as a war against Communism / Marxism, and to combat Marxism, emphasized authority, nation and hierachy. CEDA aligned itself with General Franciso Franco early in the war, with the youth movement members gradually shifting over to the Falange party.

The final core party of the Nationalist movement is the Falange, the Mussolini-style Fascist party. Given the goal of this chapter is to derive a working definition of fascism, a definition useful in modern times, Francisco Franco's post-war regime will mostly be discussed by in terms of Falange influence, and to what degree did Franco's policies align with Italian Fascism, or Fascist-like governments such as Hitler's National Socialist Reich, or to a lesser extent, Emperor Hirohito's imperialist regime.

Nationalism and racialism are core tenants of Falangism. In similar terms as the anarchist syndicalists and communists were the revolutionary parties of the Republicans, the Falangism party was the revolutionary party of the right. Along with the Carlists, incorporation of Portugal, Gilbratar and even the French Pyrenees was a central ambition. A significant percentage of Falangists viewed races as being valid constructs, with statistically significant differences in physical, emotional, intellectual and other domains of skills and traits between racial groups. Unlike Nazism, racial purity or separatist positions were not common, and were not accepted as mainstream Falangist ideology. "Every race has a particular cultural significance.." and "Hispanic supercaste [is] ethically improved, morally robust, and spiritually vigorous" were two quotations from Falangist works<sup>1</sup>.

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1 From page 190 of Robert Griffin's book entitled *Fascism*, published in

Falangism is a totalitarian ideology, with all competing political ideologies repressed – a centralized government including dictator with a single-party system in a supporting role. Viewing classism as a problem in society, falangism rejects capitalism. However, the perception of the detrimental effects of Communism on national identity, given that the central authority for communist nations at this point in time was the Soviet Union, and also perceiving moral depravity in the Socialist Party, a different approach was taken – National Syndicalism. National Syndicalism focuses on cooperation of classes and service to a unified nation. Employees and employers mutually organize, with the sole condition being that the benefit to the nation comes above all else. The National Syndicalist system, in theory, provides more freedom for employee and employer than Communism or Socialism, and empowers the individual more so than a capitalist society.

Falangism focuses on the traditional family and gender roles. A woman is expected to be a loving mother and productive homemaker, while the man's duty is to provide for the family. This view is not considered radical in 1930s right-wing political ideology, but is deemed unacceptable and oppressive by the left-wing opponents.

## The Republicans

While a discussion of the Republicans is of less importance in a chapter analyzing fascism, the anarchist, syndicalist, communist and socialist groups demonstrate current widely accepted Antifa political philosophy in practice on a significant scale<sup>1</sup>. The Republicans were a more scattered, combative party, less willing to come together on a common policy set, with frequent skirmishes throughout the Spanish Civil War.

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1995 by Oxford University press.

1 These groups are in order from most-to-least radical, by comparison to the 1930s Republican government and typical Republican (progressive liberal) policy

## Popular Front & Centrist / Progressives

### *Unión Republicana (UR)*

Unión Republicana (UR), a Republican<sup>1</sup> progressive party, formed in 1934 after a merger of several small, somewhat diverse, center-left and centrist parties, including the Radical Democratic Party, which split from the aforementioned Nationalist-siding C.E.D.A. This party actively participated in all Republican governments throughout the war, and continued to strive towards implementing socially liberal, secularist and progressive policies, despite being outlawed and officials in exile following Nationalist successful outcome in the war.

### *Izquierda Republicana (IR)*

Izquierda Republicana (IR) was founded in 1934, during the period when tensions were rising and following a failed military coup d'etat. IR was able to unite with UR and ERC during the Civil War, as well as remain on relatively peaceful terms with the Socialists.

### *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)*

Catalonia has a rich culture and history, with traditions and values separate from the rest of the Kingdom of Spain. Catalan nationalists founded a political party in 1931 and continue to advocate for Catalan independence. Esquerra Republicana is a center-left, nationalistic party, adhering to positions of democratic socialism, economic liberalism and soft euroskepticism<sup>2</sup>. ERC was one of many conflicting groups who fought the Nationalists, but the lack of unity and

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1 Republican in Spanish politics, specially in the 1930s, is more analogous with the U.S. Democratic Party, at least the Progressive, Socially liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Franklin D. Roosevelt is an example of an American politician with a platform and policies congruent with the Republicans of the Kingdom of Spain.

2 Soft euroskepticism refers to a position of opposing specific European Union policies and/or hold a belief that the European Union has overreached its authority. Soft euroskeptics do not necessarily desire an abolition of the European Union, but advocate for more localized, less centralized political power.

cohesion adversely effected the outcome of the Civil War for both a desire for Catalanian independence and a continuation of a Republican rule on a national level.

### **Socialist & Communist Affiliates**



Logos used by PCE and PSOE respectively.

#### ***Partido Socialista Obrero de Espana (PSOE)***

Partido Socialista Obrero de Espana (PSOE), also referred to as the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, was founded in 1879. During the Spanish Civil War, PSOE splintered into three wings: a Marxist revolutionary wing, a moderate democratic socialist wing, and a reformist wing. PSOE was banned in 1939, along with other political parties, during the reign of General Francisco Franco, and was revitalized in 1977.

#### ***Partido Comunista de Espana (PCE)***

PCE, or the Communist Party of Spain, is blamed by many historians for being a factor in the Republican's loss in the Spanish Civil War. The Communists felt that revolution would have to wait until after the war and hesitated in acting on the threat of General Franco's military advances. By the time the Communist Party formed an organized militia, and obtained the assistance in the form of raw materials and troops, the Nationalists already possessed control over key regions of Spain, including a weapons factory outside of Madrid. Had the Communist Party acted earlier, and attempted a counter-revolution against the Nationalists, it is within the realm of possibility that Spain would have been a Communist, not Fascist, country for the decades following the war.

## Marxist / Trotskyist Parties



Flag of The Worker's Party of Marxist Unification

Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM), or the Worker's Party of Marxist Unification, founded in 1935, advocated for Trotskyism, not communist policy dictated from central command – Stalin's Soviet Union. A political party primarily located in Catalonia, a hotbed of divided political ideologies, emerged as a response to civil discontent with the lack of reform in the civil and military framework of the state, believing the Republicans were too passive towards continued monarchical policies.

Sensing a gradual shift towards fascist policies in support of powerful clerical and corporate interests, POUM's mission was to restore power and independence to the workers from the rising fascists and democratic bourgeois.

As we gradually shift from more traditional and totalitarian factions of the Republicans, the groups of discussion begin to align more and more with the stated goals of the Antifa movement. Groups such as the UR, IR and ERC, while not perceived to be as immediate of a threat as the Nationalist and fascist right-wing groups, were still perceived as propagators of false rhetoric, full of unfulfilled promises and protectors of the corporate moguls, clerico-fascists and the monarchy.

Famous English writer George Orwell, who went to Spain to fight with POUM, summarized it well in his 1938 novel entitled *Homage to Catalonia*: “I have no particular love for the idealized “worker” as he appears in the bourgeois Communist's mind, but when I



see an actual flesh-and-blood worker in conflict with his natural enemy, the policeman, I do not have to ask myself which side I am on.”<sup>1</sup>

## **Anarchist, Syndicalist & Libertarian Affiliates**

### ***Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo (CNT)***

CNT, and a group affiliated Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores (AIT) and Federacion Anarquista Iberica (FAI), recognized as CNT-AIT and CNT-FAI respectively, was founded in 1910. Their creed was, "We make no distinction at the time of admission, we require only that you are a worker, student or unemployed. The only people who cannot join are those belonging to repressive organizations (police, military, security guards), employers or other exploiters". As one of the only regions to hold a functioning anarcho-syndicalist system of scale, both men and women engaged in work and took to the front lines, engaged in a variety of jobs, abandoned money for work and instead utilized vouchers, where services and products were sold in terms of labor hours (the vouchers counted this), not money. This movement continues to this day, fighting for worker's rights to unionize and for various issues related to the common good.

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1 George Orwell provided significant commentary throughout the Spanish Civil War, typically aligning himself with the so-called left-wing movements.

## The Dictatorship – Fascist or Not?

For the purpose of this text, the actual battles of the war are rather irrelevant. Due to a variety of factors, including the Republicans having difficulty uniting under a single group, and outside nations helping each side, including significant support from Hitler and Mussolini on the side of the nationalists – albeit, the Nationalists received support from the Soviets – the Nationalists eventually won the war in 1939. General Francisco Franco took power as dictator and assembled a cabinet around him.

While it would seem to an outsider with only cursory knowledge of the war that as a fascist-sympathizer, he would have appointed a mostly Falange cabinet, he did not. He appointed two former Falange (political parties were made illegal per dictatorial decree) to his cabinet, both of whom did not hold firmly to Falange doctrine and principles. Both of these members were eventually replaced, and replaced with individuals who had no ties to the Falange party. He was known as “El Caudillo”, meaning the leader, similar to other dictatorial regimes.

A common theme to fascist regimes is a military coup d'etat to gain control, with continued use of paramilitary forces to ensure compliance with policy. This was the case in both Germany, where coup d'etats were attempted and the brownshirts occupied the streets, and Italy, where Mussolini's March on Rome was successful through support from the Blackshirts. Militarism appears to be a common thread amongst fascist regimes, which General Francisco Franco had expansionary goals and focused heavily on ensuring Spain had a formidable military.

Franco, while providing occasional support in the form of supplies, mostly stayed neutral during the war, despite owing his victory in the Spanish Civil War mostly to the help of the Germans and Italians; without the help of either, the Republicans, with Soviet help, would have stood a much better chance at success. Due to his neutral stance, Spain did not face as significant of post-war hardship as the Axis countries, and Franco was able to retain dictatorial power over Spain. Franco led a totalitarian system of government in Spain until his death in 1975.

Conformity to a code of strict nationalism is a common feature of fascist governments. Franco's rule undoubtedly adhered to this. Following the war, tribunals were held for Republicans, most of whom were either executed or if lucky, imprisoned. Independent labor unions were outlawed. The only religion allowed to be practiced was Catholicism, and Spanish was made to be the official, and only, accepted language throughout the country. Catalan and Basque languages were deemed illegal, and all signs and other public displays utilizing other languages were destroyed.

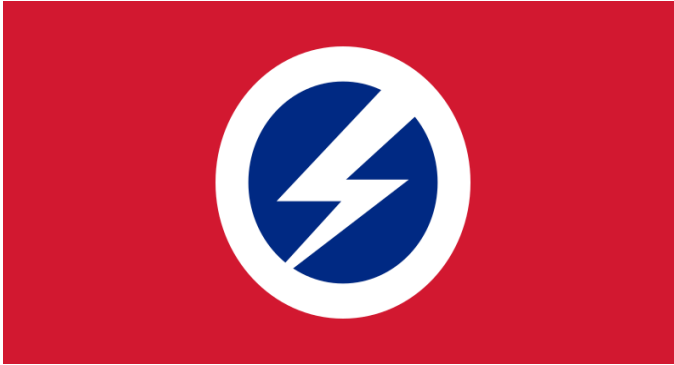
Initially, Franco proclaimed ultimate authority over commerce, but allowed corporations and industries to operate without absolute control and orders from the state. This is similar to other regimes, where a form of corporatism, a government and corporation partnership, which historically seems to be more effective in the long-term than a completely planned economy as seen in the Soviet Union and at the time of this writing, Venezuela. Gradually over his term, he began to relax on the degree to which he policed industry, culture and other institutions.

Francisco Franco's rule over Spain was militaristic, required strict conformity to a defined sense of nationalism, deemed ultimate authority to the dictator with exception of allowing for Catholicism, which was required to be actively practiced during Franco's regime, and had a corporatist approach to economic policy. Similar to Mussolini, racial and ethnic cleansing policies and practices were not a primary, or even secondary issue.

After studying four historical regimes most commonly referred to as being fascistic, historical fascism can be defined as follows:

A dictatorial system of governance, requiring absolute observation to a strict code of nationalism, enforced through use of paramilitary or similar forces, with an emphasis on military prowess, and an economic policy focusing on a state and corporate partnership, with economic policy and business decisions always adhering to what is deemed in the best interest of the state.

## British Union of Fascists (BUF)



Flag of the British Union of Fascist & National Socialists

***“The worst were ever united; the best were ever divided. That has been the tragedy of Modern Europe which has brought her youth to death; her culture to the dust; her happiness to ruin; her material prosperity to destruction, and her spiritual life to a jeopardy which threatens which eternal night the sunlit heights of the European mind.”<sup>1</sup>***

Following the massive number of deaths resulting from World War I, high unemployment rates, and a worldwide economic crash, the 1920s and early 1930s were a breeding ground for non-traditional political ideologies. While fascism is typically associated with Germany and Italy, and sometimes Spain, Japan, and a few other militaristic, ultra-nationalistic states, fascist, communist, socialist, and even anarchist ideas, influences, and ideologies were present even amongst the western allied nations. The British experienced a rise in support for fascism prior to entry in World War II, led by a British military veteran and former parliamentary member Sir Oswald Mosley.

This section will provide an brief overview of Sir Oswald Mosley's life, political ideology, and an overview of the history of the British Union of Fascists (BUF). The section will conclude with a historical recount of battles between the BUF and the opposition,

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1 Quote from Oswald Mosley (1947)'s *The Alternative*, on page 1 of Chapter 1: The Failure of Britain and of Europe.

consisting of allied groups of communists (Leninist-Stalinists, Trotskyists, and other variants), Jews, progressive liberals, and anarchist.

Sir Oswald Mosley was born on November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1896 into a wealthy family of baronets. His mother and father separated while he was a young child, and his mother raised him. He attended the Royal Military College at Sandhurst in 1914 but was expelled as a result of a physical confrontation with another student<sup>1</sup>. He was commissioned into World War I, and in 1916, was invalided due to a plane crash. His exposure to “common people”, the working- and middle-class soldiers in his ranks, influenced his future political career.

Following World War I, Sir Oswald Mosley aspired to be a politician, with his initial focus being on avoiding any future war. Elected as a conservative, he was the youngest member of the House of Commons. Outraged by the conservative policy towards the Irish, he crossed the floor, aligning himself as an independent member of the opposition. By 1924, he joined the Labour party, losing a close election in Birmingham. During his time outside of parliament, he completed the Birmingham Proposals and other economic policies designed to shift focus towards a national economy, instead of focusing on exports and international trade. When the Labour Party won the general elections of 1929, Sir Mosley was not granted the cabinet position he expected, and his economic proposals for solving the unemployment problem were blocked by the cabinet for being too “radical”. This led to a great deal of frustration with the Labour Party.

As a result of being frustrated with his policy proposals being blocked by the Labour Party, Sir Mosley founded the New Party. While gaining initial support from *The Daily Mail* and a few important politicians, the party failed to become established as a result of losing every seat in the 1931 election. A faction of members of the New Party became estranged from Sir Mosley as a result of his continuing shift towards authoritarian, fascist policies. Following the election failure, he toured Italy to study Mussolini's regime, returning to Britain to unite the people under a fascist party.

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1 For more information regarding Sir Oswald Mosley's expulsion, consult the following source: Philip Rees's *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right Since 1890*, published by Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Sir Mosley founded the BUF in October 1932, gaining significant popularity for his nationalized, corporatist economic model focusing on “Britain first”. A variety of social classes engaged in the movement, with the bulk of membership from east London area. After a meeting at London's Olympia on June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1934, where Mosleyite blackshirts physically removed and assaulted hecklers and protestors from his speech, the public opinion of his movement changed for the worse, and membership numbers declined. By 1940, the party was banned by Winston Churchill, and Sir Mosley, his second wife, and high-ranking members were jailed for the duration of World War II.

## American Falangist Party (AFP)



Flag for the American Falangist Party.

The American Falangist Party (AFP) – full-name being as follows: 'National Syndicalist American Falangist Party' – is a now-defunct political party which attempted to promote Fascism as a legitimate form of government in the United States, with no significant success. The movement is related to the National Synarchist Union (Mexico-based) movement. The group started in 1985 and disbanded in 2000. Not every AFP member was willing to give up on a true Falangist party in America. As a political party, we will assess under each dimension whether or not it meets the criteria of fascist.

Without nationalism, fascism fails to exist. AFP rejects racism in favor of National Unity, and given the cultural shifts when this party was founded, racism was one of the most divisive aspects of U.S. society. Only Christians are allowed to join. However, if AFP were to gain power, separation of church and state and freedom of religion would be protected. Homosexuality is prohibited in public – what goes on behind closed doors is no one's business – but being disruptive in public by acting out on homosexual urges should carry a harsh sentence, perhaps “But any radical homosexual that disrupts a Religious service because they don't agree with what is being said or practiced by that church should be sentenced to a special labor camp for 20 years or

in some cases executed.<sup>167</sup>

A unified country through a suppression of ideas, appears to be the approach, with those with different beliefs being forced into hiding (i.e. homosexuality) was common. Church and state were separate, but Christianity was the only official religion, which by association, would likely force it down other religions as well. This was similar to Franco's and Mussolini's regimes, where a cohesive national identity was set forth by a supreme leader. While no mention of militarism is specifically listed in the remnants of the platform that are easily accessible, it wouldn't be a stretch to assume that a strong military to police the streets to ensure compliance as well as to protect the nation would be a priority if this party came into power.

Privately owned banks would be abolished, and large corporations would be under more control of the state. The working class should be allowed to make a living, while the excesses of capitalism must be reigned in.

This political party combined some syndicalist policies with the Falange platform of Spain, creating hybrid form of fascism. Nor were the policies as clear. Unlike Lyndon LaRouche, discussed later in this book, this organization has failed to gain either attention from the media or significant grassroots support, resulting in a lack of influence exerted over public policy.

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1 Obtained from the <http://www.freewebs.com/nsafp/faq.htm>



## U.S. Presidential Administrations

America has never had a president who was elected on a purely fascist platform, nor has any American president been oneself as being a fascist. However, utilizing the **four-point core fascist framework**<sup>1</sup>, a few presidential administrations put forth fascist-leaning policy and practice.

Woodrow Wilson began his term as president almost a decade prior to Mussolini becoming prime minister of Italy, when Mussolini was still a member of the Italian Socialist Party, in 1913. President Wilson's administration expanded presidential authority, led to the creation of the Federal Reserve and implemented price fixing and other policies in the area of economic regulation and according to many historians, was the first major influence on the globalist, expansionary foreign policy to which America still adheres.

The legacy of President Wilson is the concept of Wilsonianism, a hyper-nationalistic, hyper-militaristic, international, interventionist policy which justified entrance in military conflicts on foreign soil on the basis of needing to help spread the American system of democracy. Wartime bonds were utilized to regulate food prices, wages and other costs of industry. The Department of Information controlled the news agenda and local groups were organized to detect anyone who was expressing pro-German or anti-American views, including simply being against the war for ethical reasons. Violent acts were committed against German Americans, with federal authorities abstaining from intervention in many cases.

Other presidents, including Franklin D. Roosevelt, Lyndon B. Johnson and Barack Obama, fit aspects to varying degrees of basic definition of fascism through actions and policy. None of the mentioned figures can be classified as fascist, given the lack of paramilitary

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1 In a historical context, fascist regimes include a base of four core characteristics: hyper-nationalism, hyper-militarization, hyper-regulation / socialization / corporatization of industry, and centralized government led by a dictatorial power. Censorship, ridicule, social isolation and in more extreme cases, mass deportations and executions, are utilized for individuals who espouse conflicting ideologies.

forces, lack of exertion of control over sociocultural issues as witnessed in previous fascist regimes, etc. For brevity's sake, each president will not be given further attention, except when necessary for explanations or for providing examples or evidence in future chapters.

## **Summary**

Mussolini's Italian Fascism, Hitler's Nazism / NSDAP, Hirohito's Imperialism and Franco's Nationalism are four of the most frequently discussed “fascist” regimes. When viewed under the lens of Italian fascism, each regime holds common characteristics deemed problematic by groups such as Antifa, including nationalism excluding minority sociocultural practices to varying degrees, hyper-militarism, and corporatism.

Attempts at implementing a true fascist regime in the United States have failed, including the relatively unknown American Falangist Party which disbanded nearly two decades ago, and current neo-Nazi and white nationalist organizations which lack significant influence over public policy. However, many presidential administrations set for legislation and act in comparable ways to other regimes more commonly referred to as being fascist.

The four-point core fascist framework will be utilized in future chapters as an initial test to analyze whether a specific platform or group adheres to the basic principles of fascism. Also, historical context will be considered, given that in every situation where fascism has emerged in a society, it has been a direct, paramilitary response to a powerful, organized left. Hyper-nationalism, hyper-militarism, hyper-regulation and centralized dictatorial power are necessary for, but do not necessarily define, a government to be fascist. Pure capital 'F' Fascism, as seen with Mussolini in Italy, is unlikely to be seen again. However, viewed upon a continuum, the degree of fascism can be ascertained from various entities. Viewing fascism as having a spectrum instead of being a simple binary extends the usefulness of future discussions of entities labeled as 'fascist' by Antifa and others in the anti-fascist movement.

Historically, fascism has soared in popularity as a perceived threat from so-called “far-left” entities, whether anarchists, socialists, or

communists. Fascism and communism, while both centralized, authoritarian regimes, with central planning for the economy, appear to share more in common than not, it is typically the shift in focus of who the target audience for fascism is – not the lowly worker or revolutionary professor, but the middle-class worker, small business owner, and most of all, the ethnic-racial group deemed to be the superior and rightful owners of the nation.

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# Chapter V:

## Modern Day Fascism

### Introduction

The *gateway theory of neo-fascist involvement* states through exposure to elements of fascism which are perceived as being reasonable and rational, perhaps even classifiable as classical liberal, libertarian, conservative, or even religious in nature, individuals gain sympathy for the movement and become politically involved, wherein subsequently fascist ideas and actions considered less socially acceptable are introduced with greater probability of being accepted by said individual.

A related mechanism, which we will call *filling the vacuum*, is believed to occur when a social group, typically extremist in nature not necessarily so, fills a social niche as a result of nobody else of significance addressing the concerns associated with it. For example, many Americans believe the Democratic and Republican Parties are corrupt and neglect the needs of working-class Americans. As a result, many Americans believe no political party really recognizes their social and economic strife. Neo-fascist and neo-nazi groups utilize this to recruit members, stating their goal is the advocacy for the rights of working-class Americans – frequently white working-class Americans. Political and social groups attribute declining socioeconomic conditions and increased crime to illegal (and legal) immigration, Islamic terrorism, African Americans and other minorities, and social welfare policies. Without utilization of aggressive force to suppress these groups, it is believed that these groups could potentially rise to prominence and power, similar to Adolf Hitler and his NSDAP in 1930s Germany.

It is through these mechanisms, in which groups such as Antifa justify aggressive action against those perceived aligned with fascist



political organized, even if the individual or group in question is also an enemy of neo-fascist groups. An example of this is Milo Yiannopolis, a critic of mainstream feminism, perceived societal pressure towards acceptance of policies promoting transgenderism, and mainstream politicians. While neo-fascist groups would be on Milo's side of the debate with all three of the above issues, the fact that he is homosexual, dates exclusively African American men, and is Jewish not only excludes him from membership in nearly all of the neo-fascist movements, especially those of neo-Nazi ilk, but also causes him to be labeled as an enemy as well.

## Creativity Movement



Flag for The Creativity Movement (TCM)

The Creativity Movement (TCM), formerly known as the World Church of the Creator, was founded by Ben Klassen in 1973. A splinter group, called Creative Alliance (CA), was formed by Matthew F. Hale in 1996 under a different name. As of 2003, the two groups, not known to interact with each other or share significant membership, have utilized the aforementioned names: TCM and CA.

The focus of this discussion will be TCM, with a sparse discussion of CA. Ben Klassen P.M.E., published numerous books and articles over the years, which constitute the holy writings of TCM. *Nature's Eternal Religion* (1973) remains the core book of the group.

Despite the controversial nature of the group, and history of criminal activity amongst group members, the TCM and CA both qualify as official religious entities under federal law. In *Peterson vs. Wilmur Communications* (2002), the United States District Court of the Eastern District of Wisconsin ruled in favor of TCM/CA, with legal help from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). In *Hale vs. Federal Bureau of Prisons* (2015), another victory for TCM/CA was achieved, ruling that Creativity qualifies as a religion under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, qualifies for tax-exempt status as such, and may be practiced in prison.

TCM is anti-homosexuality, anti-gay marriage and against transgenderism and other acts deemed to be part of a larger conspiracy to devalue the white race. Instances of this are numerous in documents, on message boards, etc.

This is just one example amongst group members. On the Creativity Movement message board, March 1, 2013, a member with the user name “cov” stated, “Everyday I am amazed of how low we have dropped.”, in response to the first openly gay Secretary serving in the United States Army.

Lesbian teacher: How I convince kids to accept gay marriage

2 posts • Page 1

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Lesbian teacher: How I convince kids to accept gay marriage

by Steve French • Wed Apr 22, 2015 11:14 pm

A primary grade lesbian teacher from an Ontario public school revealed in a workshop at a homosexual activist conference for teachers earlier this month how she uses her classroom to convince children as young as four to accept homosexual relationships.

Image

<https://www.lifesitenews.com/news/lesbian-teacher-how-i-convince-kids-to-accept-gay-marriage-starting-at-4-ye>

There doesn't seem to be many white kids in Canada. 😊

Steve French  
Junior member  
Posts: 33  
Joined: Sat Apr 18, 2015 1:46 am  
Contact: [icon]

Re: Lesbian teacher: How I convince kids to accept gay marriage

by JoeJoe • Sat Jul 01, 2017 9:34 pm

That is just sickening. The world we live in now is a tragedy. I still can't believe how the Jews have brainwashed so many Aryans. The Aryan has become weak. They are sheep being led to slaughter by a Jewish media and a Zionist government. We have to help spread the word of Creativity and hopefully win back some of these people.

JoeJoe  
Junior member  
Posts: 1

These are not the only examples of anti-homosexuality within The Creative Movement's doctrine. In Klassen's book, *Nature's Eternal Religion*, which is the WCOTC equivalent to the Qu'ran for Muslims or The Bible for Christians, it is quoted on page 260 saying:

*“Any activity that hampers or imperils this noble objective is unnatural, and, therefore, a violation of Nature’s laws. We all clearly recognize, for instance, that homosexuality is unnatural and that such people are called deviates. We must also recognize that Nature harshly punishes deviates and extinguishes them from the face of the earth. It is quite clear, for instance, that a society of sexual deviates would be*

*short-lived and Nature would wipe them from the face of the earth”*.<sup>1</sup>

While an exclusionary organization – only white people allowed – it is neither misogynistic (women are allowed) nor nationalistic (worldwide chapters exist). Through the Sixteen Commandments<sup>2</sup>, preservation, propagation and proudness and purity of race are necessary. Jewish peoples are deemed to be an enemy, and all other religions are viewed as being a scam.

The Creativity Movement is a unified international organization. However, this does not necessarily mean it is not nationalistic. Nationalism in this case refers to the idea of a unified nation of white people, attempting to preserve the purity of the race from both inferior genetics and inferior ideas. TCM as a group typically does not hold many public events. However, individual members have been linked to heinous crimes related to the organization's doctrine.

### **Battles with Antifa**

On June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014, Antifa Philadelphia rallied against Creativity Movement and allies in Columbus, OH. This event did not draw many activists on either side, nor did it seem to erupt into violence. Creativity Movement has abstained, for the most part, from recent rallies.

The following is a series of photos of TCM and CA in action, to be able to identify group members in rallies, with the 2<sup>nd</sup> photo being of Reverend Matthew Hale:

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1 Included in Klassen's *Nature's Eternal Religion* on page 261.

2 Included in Klassen's *Nature's Eternal Religion* on page 262.



## Ralph Neil Scroy: *Nazi in Your Midst*



Meet Ralph Neil Scroy, your neighbor at 3002 Clove Tree Lane in Woodstock, GA. Scroy is an active neo-Nazi who recently hosted a white supremacist gathering at his Woodstock home. We are concerned by neo-Nazis organizing in your neighborhood, since such organizing frequently leads to violence against people of color, Jewish people, sexual minorities, and others perceived as enemies.

Scroy's background is in Southern California, where he participated in the white power movement in Southern California. Scroy was arrested in Santa Clara County for the charge of "inflict spouse/cohabitant."

This summer, Scroy has operated Worldwide, a faction of the white power organization. Arya terrorist group "The Order" in promote the "religion" of Christ are portrayed as the spawn of Satan, less than fully human.

On July 17 2016, Scroy was present at a demonstration by Aryan Nation White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan such as "Black Lives Don't Matter."

Scroy opened up his Woodstock home for a Labor Day gathering, September 4, 2016 for a Labor Day gathering. Scroy and attendees were giving "Sieg Heil" salutes. Scroy pled guilty to attacking a Black man while a KKK member during the gathering.

Neo-Nazi organizing from Scroy to Woodstock residents. Warn your neighbors.

If you have further information on neo-Nazi or Klan organizers in your neighborhood, please contact Atlanta Antifascists:

[afainatl@riseup.net](mailto:afainatl@riseup.net)

## TCM Opinion of Antifa

*“We Creators do not identify as 'fascists'. The Creativity Movement is a worldwide religious organisation dedicated to putting the best interests of White people first. We had no presence in Charlottesville. If you check out our website, you will find an article by one of our more experienced senior Ministers, expressing disapproval at the whole event.*

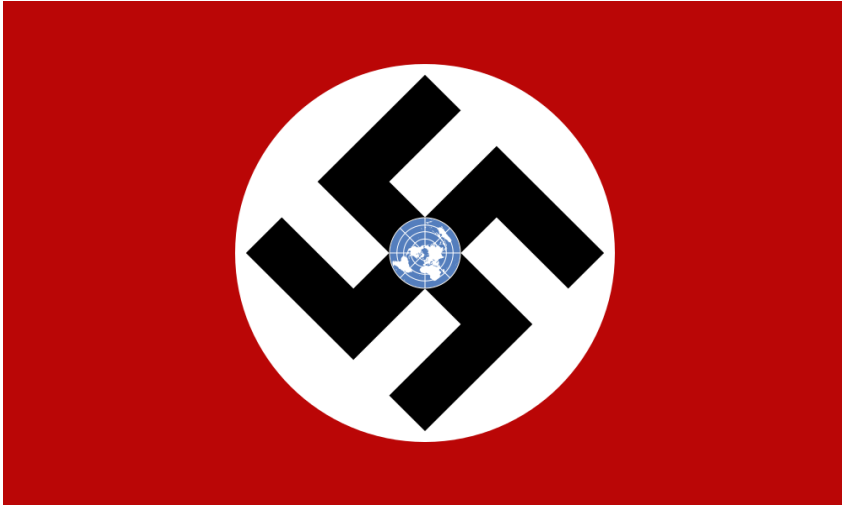
*“These so-called 'Antifa' people are unwitting tools of the powers that be. Useful idiots if you like. We seldom pay much attention to these drug addled cretins, except to take a picture or video footage of their abhorrent anti-White views and behaviour and share it with ordinary, decent people. Make no mistake, the normal people find these people totally disgusting.*

*“Meanwhile, we Creators strive to spread pro-White thinking, to straighten out the White Man's confused and befuddled thinking, and encourage White people do put their own best interests first.”<sup>1</sup>*



<sup>1</sup> Email exchange with TCM representative. Email ended with “Feel free to quote the above when discussing our organisation.”

## American Nazi Party



American Nazi Party logo

The American Nazi Party (ANP) is one of the historically-defined enemies of the Antifa movement. Utilization of the name, platform, and iconography influences hostilities between ANP and the greater community. Is ANP a legitimate enemy or a relatively obscure, insignificant organization? Is this an organization advocating for eugenics or more of a historical organization, seeking to implement the potentially workable aspects of national socialism? Prior to discussing modern-day ANP, a discussion of the history of ANP is necessary to provide historical context.

George Lincoln Rockwell founded the American Nazi Party (ANP) in the 1950s as the World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists (WUFENS), but renamed it to its current name, ANP, in 1960. The party based its platform on the tenants of Nazism, embracing the vexilology, symbols, and even the SS/NSDAP uniforms.

Rockwell spent a significant portion of the late 1950s to late 1960s touring university campuses, giving controversial speeches where he attempted to demonstrate socialist / communist conspiracies against the freedom of average citizens. Despite facing protests, he was allowed to speech, frequently criticized at the end of his speeches.



On June 28, 1967, attempted assassins blocked the road with tree branches and other obstacles. When Rockwell exited his vehicle, the attempted assassins fired two shots at him. Rockwell did not sustain any significant injuries at this time; it appeared to be an attempt to silence him through fear, not a legitimate assassination attempt.

On August 25, 1967, an assassin hiding out on a rooftop of a Shopping Center fired two shots at Rockwell's car as he was leaving a car wash, one hitting the windshield and the other rupturing his chest. On the surface, this would appear to be politically motivated by an opposition force. However, it was a disgruntled former ANP member, John Palter, who murdered Rockwell for being ejected from the party – ejected for attempting to introduce Marxist doctrine into the ANP Platform. As you will note from discussions of other reactionary movements, including the UK's BNP and the Ku Klux Klan, corruption, scandal, and intra-group violence are significantly more common than actual attacks against the opposition, and the corruption and violence are associated with the downfall of numerous reactionary movements seemingly headed towards success.

After Rockwell's death until 2014, Matthias Koehl Jr., a former marine, was the leader of the party, and from 2014 to present, the leader is Rocky Joe Suhayada.

The ANP platform, similar to the NSDAP platform's desire to create a homogeneous, pure ethnic German nation, is focused on the creation of an “all-White National Socialist America”, where citizens must prove themselves to be “of Aryan blood” to be full citizens, a self-sufficient economy and energy system, a higher quality education system focused on teaching values and morals, and a responsible national defense policy focused only on engaging in conflicts if it is in the best interest of the Aryan race<sup>1</sup>.

The ANP platform is authoritarian in nature, advocating for a dictatorial-style leader who enforces a strict set of policies for the entire nation, including policies relating to morality. The utilization of common symbols and uniforms create a semblance of para-militarism. However, the lack of any significant following at present impedes the

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1 Platform outlined on <http://www.americannaziparty.com/platform/index.php>. It is based on Hitler's National Socialist platform.

implementation of an actual paramilitarized force. Militarism is considered acceptable when it benefits the interests of the nation's people. Strict adherence to nationalism is considered to be absolutely necessary, and the ANP's proposed economic policy purports to be for the common good. Common good is narrowly defined as the interests of the nation's white people, especially those of Anglo-Saxon lineage, and explicitly rejects illegal immigrants, and non-white immigrants from the Middle East, Latin America, etc.

The ANP usually meets annually in Michigan, where it's leader, Rocky Suhayda, lives, and in Dixon, IL. Approximately two meetings per year take place in Dixon, IL, where many of the ANP members live. This group does not ally with other groups, utilizes legal non-violent means to advocate for their goals, and is a mens-only organization, where women can only be financial donors, not full members. ANP has approximately 200 current members, including Paul A Kozak, Chief of Security, and his associate, Tony Ptak. This is not a group that frequents attends rallies.. The Illinois group has less than 10 current members, so membership is rather sparse.<sup>1</sup>

The Black Bloc and Antifa movement has infiltrated and doxxed a few members of the American Nazi Party. South Side Anti-Racist Action of Chicago sent two members to attend an interview for membership into the ANP, and as a result, obtained addresses, names, and meeting locations for the group. This utilization of covert intelligence tactics is one of the more overlooked aspects of the Black Bloc / Antifa. With exception of message board postings and intelligence gathering exercises, very few encounters between the ANP of present and Antifa have occurred, with other groups with significantly more members and influence (i.e. National Socialist Movement) requiring a greater degree of focus.

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1 This information is current as of at least 2013.

## Aryan Nations



Aryan Nation's emblem

Aryan Nations is not a single organization, but a collective of individual groups following the basic tenants set forth by the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, which views the Bible as being a book about the history and supremacy of the white race. Aryan Nations is believed to have been operated primarily by Reverend Richard Butler, from founding date in 1974 until undergoing a lawsuit by Morris Dees and the Southern Poverty Law Center. Splinter groups include the Tabernacle of Phineas Priesthood, led by Charles Juba in Pennsylvania, Church of the Sons of Yahweh, operated by Morris Gullet in Louisiana.

Understanding Aryan Nations requires understanding the core ideology, a form of white identity Christianity, based on the teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian. The Church of Jesus Christ-Christian was founded by Wesley A. Swift, a son of a Methodist minister, and at one point was in a leadership role in the Ku Klux Klan. Upon Wesley's death in 1970, his wife Lorraine continued the church. The teachings of the church were co-opted by numerous white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups, including Richard Butler's Aryan Nations.

Richard Butler regularly held meetings at his compound in Idaho. However, in 1998, a mother and son were shot by Aryan Nations members, while either trespassing or simply driving by the compound,

depending on which report is believed. This resulted in a \$6.3 million lawsuit found against Aryan Nations, for which Richard Butler was deemed to be solely responsible. This resulted in the compound being sold and general organizational disarray, at least for a few years. However, the modern Aryan Nations / Church of Jesus Christ-Christian continues in the original image, with one of the most prominent leaders being Paul Mullet.

Pastor Paul Mullet, the leader of Divine Truth Ministries, is one of the figureheads of the Aryan Nations / Church of Jesus Christ-Christian, at present. He advocates for white pride in a non-violent manner: "If we're confronted, we'll protect ourselves... violent actions? No. What is in the past, is in the past... the black pride, the Zionist pride, .. , the list goes on, .. okay for them but not for white pride." Becoming a member of the church requires completing an application, paying a membership fee, turning in identification documents, undergoing a background check and agreeing to a probationary period.

Pastor Paul Mullet and others commonly refer to God as "Yahweh", a Hebrew form of the name of God considered by many, especially Orthodox Jews, to be too sacred to be spoken out loud. The Bible in its entirety, especially the *Old Testament*, must be studied thoroughly. On the surface, the teachings may appear to be no different than a standard Christian denomination. However, it is necessary for those who follow the teachings as presented by the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian to accept that God was an Aryan, and the Bible is a book of the history of the Aryan Race<sup>1</sup>.

One of the core teaching of the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian, the teaching which justifies the superiority of the white race in the theological teachings, is the idea of the Adamic race, a race of Aryan peoples starting with Adam. Pastor Travis Golie explains the concept of the Adamic Race through multiple sermons given across the country, including his YouTube video published under the title "The Adamic Race", by user YouNationalist. Pastor Golie encourages congregation members to read the Bible starting with the first page, focusing on Old Testament teachings. According to Golie, Genesis 5:1 and 5:2 should be interpreted as Adam being created in God's image,

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1 Information obtained from Pastor Paul Mullet's website for the Divine Truth Ministries, as well as related YouTube videos referenced in the Bibliography.

and “Adam” is a Hebrew word meaning “to be able to blush”, which is evidence that God created Adam as the basis for a special race, the white race. Golie states that through other scriptures, only those who are “able to blush” are divinely inspired in God's eyes; only the descendants of the white Israelites can be true Christians.

The study of seed-lines is another focal point of the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian. The Adamites (Israelites) are the ancestors of white people, which is considered the true seed-line for those created in God's image. Lesser races, called “beasts of the field” in Genesis 1:25, were around prior to Adam. The Dual Seedline Christian Identity theory is key to the anti-Semitic views of the Aryan Nations, given the following are assumed true: Eve bore children with Satan as a result of being seduced by the Serpent, and also bore children of Adam. These children were Cain, who was Satan's son, and Abel, who was Adam's son. Cain became the progenitor of the Jewish people. Modern day Jewish people are viewed as being direct descendants of Satan, and any institution viewed as being dominated by Jewish people, such as the banking system, Hollywood, and the media, are not to be trusted. The *Talmud* is rejected as being a book that has a corrupting influence on society.

Those who engage in creating offspring of mixed racial backgrounds are creating “mongruels”, who are not considered to be of as low in status as the Jewish people, but are an abomination of God's desire to create a people in his image, nonetheless. The term “mongruels” is commonly used throughout white supremacist literature; it is not just confined to this group.

The Aryan Nations seek to institute a separate nation for white people, to be ruled by white people, and other races to have their own distinct nations. The anti-Semitic, eugenics view of the Aryan Nations aligns with Hitler's Nazism, but fails to adhere to Mussolini's Italian Fascism, which allowed those of Jewish faith to hold political office and live otherwise normal lives, at least per many available historical records. Institutions must be taken away from Zionists, including the banking system, government, etc. If the Aryan Nations were to somehow capture control over the government, it would likely be a totalitarian, militaristic regime similar to that of historical fascist regimes, at least for a transitional period of purification. With authoritarian communism, the bourgeois class must be exterminated and

the proletariat must rise once the purge is complete. With race-based reactionary totalitarianism, racial segregation and purification, not class egalitarianism, is the focus. If this group were to be in power, it would likely conduct similar policies to that of authoritarian leftist regimes, where the period of the people supposedly championed by the regime to assume power never actually occurs.

### **Fascist?**

Is Aryan Nations a fascist organization? It is clearly an organization based on racial supremacist ideology. Its utilization of religiosity and mysticism resembles similar uses in the Third Reich. The organization has clearly defined positions, uniforms, and other aspects of a paramilitarized group. Aryan Nations does not advocate for a specific economic policy, focusing solely on sociocultural issues – specifically, the cultural degradation occurring as a result of Zionist institutions. Aryan Nations desires a return to earlier times, where white people were clearly the dominant race of America, and racial / ethnic groups remained segregated. This group advocates for implementation of their specific reactionary, racial supremacist and separatist ideology, utilizing a mystical interpretation of Judeo-Christian writings to justify their position. Whether or not it is a “fascist” organization depends on the exact definition of fascism used, and if the definition is narrowed to only apply to political organizations, Aryan Nations could potentially be excluded. However, the reactionary ideology, regardless of whether labeled fascist or not, directly opposes the egalitarian, class-based arguments of the far-left, including the Black Bloc and Antifa movement.

Various Antifa groups and allies have protested against Aryan Nations, showing up at events to disrupt and spreading information about the group to inform the public of gatherings. On October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016, Atlanta Antifa posted flyers warning people about the gathering of an Aryan Nations affiliate, Hammerskin Nation, having an event at Patrick Lanzo's Georgia Peach Oyster Bar. Per Atlanta Antifa, 120 individuals attended, many of whom were linked to the group.

In Appendix III, section D, the posted flier as well as a photo from a few who attended the event are included. Two individuals, Randall Wiley Smith, the owner of a local business Wholesale Tire and

Auto, LLC in Villa Rica, Georgia, and Neil Scroy, are identified as current Aryan Nations members. Randall Wiley Smith has a record of being involved with the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, including being convicted of assaulting a Black teenager and accepting a plea deal in 1986.

Given the non-violent stance of Pastor Mullet, combined with numerous acts of violence committed by members, Aryan Nations definitely does not appear to be a well-organized group, but a loosely organized group of individuals, some of whom ascribe to the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian and practice non-violence, while others are connected to violent acts against non-whites. The lack of structure and organization inhibit this group's ability to make a major impact on the political landscape. However, individual meet-ups and local groups may be potentially dangerous.

Finally, the rallying cry of the Aryan Nations is the 14 words, 88 precepts, and 9 noble virtues. The origin of the 14 words are traceable to David Eden Lane, with the original stating “Ons moet die voortbestand van onse volk en die toekoms van Blanke kinders verseker”, which translates to “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children”. The 88 precepts, with original and translation, are available in Appendix III, section F. The 9 virtues of odinism are as follows: courage, truth, honour, fidelity, discipline, hospitality, self-reliance, industriousness, and perseverance. While real-life adherence to the above varies amongst members of the Aryan Nations and related organizations, those who fall out of favor with the group tend to be criticized on the basis of the above. Outside groups, including anti-racist and anti-fascist groups, are frequently criticized not only for the inclusion of members deemed sub-human by Aryan Nations members, but also for promoting and/or participating in a culture which strays from the above.

## Battles with Antifa

Antifa has a substantial history fighting against the Aryan Nations, not surprisingly given the Aryan Nations history of members committing acts of violence which appear to be racially motivated, as well as the group's history of public appearances for recruitment and publicity purposes. The following paragraphs are not intended to be all-inclusive, but to provide only a cursory overview of the battles between Antifa and the Aryan Nations.

From July 28<sup>th</sup> through 30<sup>th</sup>, the Aryan Nations attempted to hold their 2006 World Congress, an annual Aryan Nations members gathering of significant importance. August B. Kreis III, the Aryan Nations National Director, attempted to organize the event, utilizing the Internet and word of mouth to communicate the location of the event. In response, the Columbia Antifascists, led by Luther Blissett at the time, coordinated with concerned citizens in the community to gather intelligence, alert local residents and the media, and devise a strategy to impede the event.

On Saturday, April 25<sup>th</sup>, the Aryan Nations and other groups throughout the United States, as well as in Scotland, Sweden, Canada, and other countries, gathered to protest the continued imprisonment of Gary Yarbrough, a member of a faction of the Aryan Nations called "The Order"<sup>1</sup>. One such gathering was in St. Louis, Missouri, on the steps of the former courthouse. One of the main organizers of the event was Susan Yarbrough, Gary's spouse. In St. Louis, the Anti-Racist Collective and numerous other groups held up signs saying "Black Lives Matter". Per reports of those in attendance, the "Free Gary Yarbrough" protesters were spat on, had obscenity-laden insults yelled at them, and faced attempts at physical assaults. The counter-protesters held signs with the slogan "Black Lives Matter" and participated in chants against racism, also including mention of Officer Wilson who was involved in the Michael Brown incident in Ferguson, Missouri.

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1 The Order is discussed within the National Alliance section of this chapter. It is a militant subgroup of Aryan Nations, which organized for a specific purpose



## National Alliance



National Alliance emblem

After discussing three groups who are only marginally linked to the recent in-the-street confrontations between the Black Bloc shown in the mainstream news cycle, we will turn to the discussion to a group who has received much more televised coverage: National Alliance – also known as American Vanguard, Vanguard America, and National Vanguard.

National Alliance actively participated in the 2017 Charlottesville tiki torch march, with members shouting, “Jews will not replace us!” and other messages of intra-racial unification. Numerous photos were taken where James Alex Fields, Jr., the suspected driver of the car which struck Heather Heyer, resulting in her death. Fields Jr. was wearing a similar uniform to other National Alliance members, spending most of the day associating with individuals claiming membership to the group. According to National Vanguard, two-hundred current active members reside in the United States. However, it is still considered one of the greatest threats amongst the neo-reactionary groups in the United States.

Instead of beginning with National Alliance / National

Vanguard (NA/NV)'s own doctrine, charter and other materials, we will begin by reviewing the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) description of the group, in an effort to highlight potential areas of conflict between the SPLC, NA/NV and outside evidence. The SPLC describes NA/NV as a group which is “explicitly genocidal in its ideology” with materials which “call for the eradication of Jews and other races” in the “creation of an all-white homeland”. SPLC identifies this group as a pro-Aryan, anti-semitic genocidal hate group desiring an ethnostate for those of European descent. SPLC states the group is full of terrorists, bank robbers and would-be bombers, a claim which will be analyzed.

National Alliance (NA) was founded in 1974 by a former physics professor, Dr. William Luther Pierce, reorganized from a political group in support of Governor George Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign: National Youth Alliance (NYA). NYA experienced significant infighting, and Dr. Pierce organized a significant faction of NYA as the NA. Dr. Pierce died in 2002 from cancer, and group leadership was handed to Erich Gliebe by the board of directors.

This led to a series of power struggles, with Kevin Alfred Strom issuing a declaration for Gliebe to step down from leadership in 2005, and when he refused, Strom and others founded National Vanguard (NV). NA experienced difficulties as a result of Gliebe stepping down, appointing Shaun Walker as leader until his arrest, which Gliebe then regained leadership.

Towards the end of 2006, NA's membership total was over eight-hundred members. By 2012, membership dropped to less than 100. By 2014, NA specifically was disbanded. NV was absorbed back into NA within the next 2 years, and now the group is referred to as either NA or NV, with a regular magazine entitled *National Vanguard*. Regardless of the specific version of the group being referenced, the platform and goals remain similar enough to classify the entirety of its history under “NA”, unless specifically referring to Strom's separate NV organization.

Dr. William Luther Pierce is the founder and continues to be perceived as being the most influential member of this movement up to the time of this writing. Dr. Pierce is well-educated, earning a bachelors

degree in physics from Rice University, attending graduate school at Caltech and earning a doctoral degree from the University of Colorado at Boulder. He became disturbed by the civil rights and Vietnam anti-war movements, both which he attributed to Jews and the latter being attributable to communists. He was first a member of the John Birch Society, which he left due to a lack of willingness of the group to criticize Jews, and subsequently became an associate of George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party (ANP). He eventually left the ANP and founded National Alliance, which included a newspaper entitled “Attack”, websites and a radio show, which for a period of time in the 1990s, was on numerous AM radio stations and shortwave.

Dr. Pierce, pen-name Andrew MacDonald, wrote two key books associated with the movement: *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*. *The Turner Diaries* provides an example of how to proceed with a rebellion and examples of how to perform the specific acts. Timothy McVeigh possessed this book, providing the book to family members and friends, and carried out an attack – The Oklahoma City Bombing – on an FBI building, which had similarities to an act carried out by the protagonist in *The Turner Diaries*.

National Alliance's “Building a New White World” document on the About portion of their website provides the ideology, general principles, statement of belief, goals and program. Claiming to follow an “Alliance” ideology, not a platform which varies with changing sociocultural issues, it is a stable document, unlike the main political party platforms in the United States and similar nations.

NA follows the “Alliance” ideology, which focuses on the reality of Nature, a evolutionary biology world-view, with a rejection of social constructivist, subjectivist and moral relativist world views. According to NA, it is the responsibility of each human being to maintain both the state of the environment, as well as “the destiny of our [the white] race”. This clashes with many theological world views, which claim mankind is a separate being, made by a Creator of some form. This is a cosmotheist framework, with similarities to Aryan Nations and TCM – specifically the white race being viewed as a central figure in shaping the future and a rejection of Jewish theology.

The law of inequality is part of the cosmotheist framework, where the world is viewed in terms of racial hierarchies. Descendants of

Europeans are believed to have advanced certain higher faculties, such as a heightened ability to problem solve, delay gratification and planning, as a result of evolving in a harsher climate. This is a complete rejection of a social construction world view, commonly held by members of Antifa and other left-leaning groups, where certain environmental changes and a higher starting point for socioeconomic status are viewed as being capable of changing a group's outcomes significantly.

Given the focus on the white race as being central to the future of the race, NA outlines a hierarchy of responsibilities in their core doctrine. First, the white race has an “obligation to the Nature of which we are a part to participate as effectively as we can in its eternal quest for higher level of development, higher forms of life”<sup>1</sup>. Second, individuals of the white race have an obligation to advance progression of people sharing the same race. Finally, each white person has a responsibility to his- or herself and to other individuals of the race, and to uphold a responsible, healthy standard of living.

NA has a set of goals in relation to the above outlined beliefs. First, NA desires a white living space, devoid of other or mixed racial heritages. Secondly, a government must be put into place which reverses policies to be racially de-evolutionary. This government may be democratic, socialist or any form – whatever form is capable of reversing policies perceived to be a threat to the white race. Finally, the education and economic systems require reform towards systems which put the interests of the white race first.

## The Order

The Order refers to a close-knit, small group of members holding membership in Aryan Nations, National Alliance and similar groups, who believed the actions of those organization were insufficient in the battle for securing a future for whites of European lineages.

Robert Mathews, raised as a Mormon and former member of the John Birch Society, was the leader of The Order. This was not his first attempt at starting a more aggressive, militant group – he

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1 Quote is taken from National Alliance's “Building a New White World”, with reference of full text document in appended bibliography.

previously founded The Sons of Liberty, an anti-communist militia, which lasted until the mid-1970s before he withdrew. After being influenced by William Gayley Simpson's book *Which Way Western Man?* and Andrew MacDonald's *The Turner Diaries*, he sought to create a white-only ethno-community in the Pacific Northwest. He created The Order as a first step towards achieving this goal. The Order initially consisted of National Alliance members Richie Kemp and Bill Soderquist, Aryan Nations members Dan Bauer, Randy Duey, Denver Parmeter, and Bruce Pierce, and his neighbor, Kenn Loff. Future recruits included Tom Martinez and Gary Yarborough. The actions of The Order inspired the creation of two films, *Betrayed* (1988) and *Brotherhood of Murder* (1999).

The first revolutionary action towards raising the funds for a white separatist community was robbing an adult bookstore in Spokane, Washington, which netted less than \$500. This proved to be high risk and low reward activity, so the group began to counterfeit money, which resulted in member Bruce Pierce being arrested. In order to raise funds for bail, Robert Mathews robbed a bank, which netted approximately \$26,000. Several hundreds of thousands of dollars were netted through a series of bank robberies.

In July 1984, the group carried out a robbery of a Brink's armored car, which netted over \$3,600,000. Afterwards, Mathews wrote a long letter where he declared war on the United States of America. In his final letter, Mathews stated, "Thus I have no choice. I must stand up like a White man and do battle. A secret war has been developing for the last year between the regime in Washington and an ever growing number of White people who are determined to regain what our forefathers discovered, explored, conquered, settled, built and died for."<sup>1</sup> This letter was written after Mathews discovered Tom Martinez was acting as an FBI informant, in return for a plea agreement in his counterfeiting case.

On December 7, 1984, the FBI discovered Mathews's location on Whidbey Island in Washington and surrounded his home. A standoff occurred, resulting in Mathews firing on a helicopter and multiple FBI agents on December 8<sup>th</sup>. The FBI acted by throwing smoke grenades and finally, three M-79 Starburst flares into the house, which set off a

1 From Robert Jay Mathews final letter, obtained from <http://www.supreme-white-alliance.net/rememourheroes.htm>.

box of hand grenades. The house caught fire, and while the house burned, Mathews continued to fire shots with his assault rifle. Eventually, the firing stopped. When the fire was extinguished, Mathew's burned body was found. No FBI agents were injured.

Numerous individuals tied to the group, as well as group members, were charged and subsequently convicted of a variety of criminal offenses, including property crimes, violations of civil rights and organized crime offenses.

### Notable Events

On January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2011, Kevin William Harpham, a U.S. Army veteran, is believed to have placed a Swiss Army backpack with a bomb inside near a park bench, along the planned route of the Unity March, a celebratory march for Martin Luther King, Jr. on his birthday. Three contract workers discovered the backpack, which led to a subsequent investigation. Given his membership in Vanguard News Network (under identity "Joe Snuffy"), a magazine by National Alliance, history of expressing interest in joining a variety of white identitarian and separatist groups, including Aryan Nations, National Socialist Party and others, and remarks made on message boards regarding white separatist ideology, it appears to have been racially motivated. Despite being linked to National Alliance by the Southern Poverty Law Center, Erich Glibe, the acting chairman in 2011 states Harpham was never a formal member of National Alliance.

The case of Harpham is not the only case in which leadership of National Alliance denied a supposed member who committed a violent act was involved in the group. On August 20, 2017, James Alex Fields, Jr., who was photographed previously that day in National Alliance garb with other apparent members, drove his car into Heather Heyer, a local protester not tied to Antifa, causing her death, as well as injuring other protesters. Kevin Alfred Strom, current (as of 2017) president of National Alliance, denies knowledge of James Alex Fields being a member of National Alliance.

## National Socialist Movement (NSM)



NSM logo

The National Socialist Movement (NSM) advertises as being “America's premier white civil rights organization” and is headquartered out of Detroit, Michigan, with chapters residing throughout the United States. NSM seeks to differentiate itself from being a pure adaptation of Hitler's ideology by pointing out that Arabs were SS members and other nations have national socialist movements, including the Japanese during World War II. Capitalism and communism are both deemed enemies. This movement purports to be a movement based on nature and reason. Membership in NSM is restricted to non-semitic heterosexuals of European descent.

The NSM platform adheres to a set of core beliefs which center around preserving the rights of white people and European culture and heritage. This is accomplished through strengthening the family, attaining economic self-sufficiency, reforming immigration policies allowing massive immigration of non-whites, non-intervention in the Middle East and other parts of the world, and establishing a white ethnostate. While expressing a desire to accomplish the goals of white separatism through non-violent measures, it seems illogical that this is a realistic possibility, and as such, more aggressive means are not ruled out as a potential strategy.

The NSM is the largest national socialist political party in the United States, with over 50 chapters spanning over 30 states. NSM has a history of not only conflicts with outsiders, but also internal conflicts,

including Jeff Hall's murder by his ten year-old son and numerous members defecting to create new groups as a result of disagreements with Commander Jeff Schoep, the current leader of the NSM.

## **Battles with Antifa**

On Sunday, February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2014, Stacy Hoffman, a self-identified member of NSM, attempted to organize a “meet and greet” of fellow NSM members in Portland, OR. To combat the specific event, Rose City Antifa gathered intelligence and showed up at the stated meeting place. According to Rose City Antifa, nobody showed up for the event. Stacy Hoffman could not be reached for comment.

Rose City Antifa has engaged in thorough intelligence gathering regarding NSM in the greater Portland, Oregon area. According to their intelligence, NSM activity in the Portland area dates back to the early-2000s, with numerous leadership and general membership changes. The Portland NSM leadership roles have been held by a disproportionate number of women, compared to other neo-Nazi groups. Specifically, Corinna Luray Burt, a leader from 2009 to 2011, was likely forced to step down as a result of being outed as a pornographic actress, which is strictly prohibited by NSM, due to a perception of pornography being part of a Zionist plot to degrade the culture of white people<sup>1</sup>

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1 Information obtained from Rose City Antifa's website, in an article titled “National Socialist Movement “Gathering” in Portland”. The information presented is based limited available resources of the author and reports by Rose City Antifa. However, it does appear that Corinna Luray Burt was a pornographic actress and NSM member. Evidence on next page.





2009 photo showing Burt in the front participating in NSM. (ABOVE)

Photo while concurrently in NSM, Burt, under name Corinna Lou. (BELOW)

Another example of Antifa's strategy against combating NSM are the events leading up to April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2013. A former NSM member (current at the time) was used as a mole, and relayed information about the time and place where Chris Rothe, the current NSM leader of Illinois, would be meeting to attend a national convention. Antifa surrounded Rothe's car, creating a blockage which caused Rothe and others to be unable to attend the NSM. At the Wesseley Inn Hotel, where NSM members were lodged and also the planned location of the NSM national conference, members of Atlanta Antifa surrounded Richard Wight's – a leader in the NSM movement – car, vandalizing it to create a distraction and to cause financial damage to the group. As stated by a source from Atlanta Antifa:

*“On April 19th, Atlanta antifascists descended upon the Wellesley Inn Hotel, where the neo nazi group known as the National Socialist Movement was holding their annual conference. We smashed every window and a tire of their member Richard Wight’s car. We did this to disrupt their conference, avert their attention off of the conference, to hit them monetarily, and show them that there will always be consequences for fascist organizing.”<sup>1</sup>*

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1 Quote from Atlanta indymedia, an anti-fascist website.

## Traditionalist Worker Party



TWP logo, with the industrial gear and pitchfork

***“LOCAL SOLUTIONS TO A GLOBALIST PROBLEM! The Traditionalist Worker Party is America’s first political party created by and for working families. Our mission is defending Faith, Family, and Folk against the politicians and oligarchs who are running America into the ground. We intend to achieve that goal by building a nationwide network of grassroots local leaders who will lead Americans toward a peaceful and prosperous future free from economic exploitation, federal tyranny, and anti-Christian degeneracy.”***

The Traditionalist Worker's Party (TWP) is a political party born out of the Traditionalist Youth Network (TYN). TYN was founded by Matthew Heimbach, who previously founded a White Student Union at Towson University, and Matt Parrot, who had previously founded a group called Hoosier Nation, as well as author of the book *Hoosier Nation* and former host of Radio Free Indiana on Voice of Reason network. TWP claims to stand for working families, Christians, children, and the interests of white Americans. TWP is a member of the National Front, an alliance of organizations including NSM, League of the South, White Lives Matter, Vanguard America, America First Committee, RNP America, VBS, 28 Social Club, USAS, and international allies including Phillippine National Front and NS Arcona of Poland.

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1 From main page of tradworker.org, the official website for the Traditionalist Worker's Party.

TWP holds views similar to other groups discussed in this section, focusing on a white majority America, with European values, and blame Zionists for many of the problems. As stated in an article by Matt Parrot, a “handful of Jews who literally control access to all of the money” is the reason why they are unable to secure a credit card processor and have resorted to use of bitcoin<sup>1</sup>.

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1 Quoted from Matt Parrot article entitled “How to Find Us” on the TWN website, available at <http://www.tradworker.org/2017/09/how-to-find-us/>.

## Battles with Antifa



On Sunday, June 26<sup>th</sup>, 2016, members of the Traditionalist Workers Party and Golden State Skinheads planned a political rally in Sacramento, California, near the state capitol. A permit to conduct the rally was obtained in advance for the two aforementioned groups. However, according to reports received by Antifa Sacramento, additional groups falling under either the “white nationalist” or “neo-nazi” constructs were apparently going to attend, including Blood & Honor, NSM, and offshoot groups of the Klu Klux Klan (KKK). According to Matt Heimbach's Twitter post earlier on the day of this demonstration, only the Golden State Skinheads and TWP were identified as being in attendance. Given Sacramento Antifa's intelligence gathering, a counter-rally was planned, with the numbers in attendance for the counter-demonstration significantly exceeding that of the permitted demonstrators.

In a later section, we discuss the topics of moral relativism and Antifa's positions regarding both the state and free speech protection. However, it is important to note a few notable comments made by Sacramento Antifa on Twitter prior to the rally. The following are exact quotes of the Twitter post:

*“Anti-Fascist Action Sacramento does not believe in allowing hate to have a platform and we are calling upon the community to shut down their rally. Fighting fascism is a moral duty, not a political one. We believe most people are good and are willing to stand up against racial hatred. Our objective is to force the nazis off our streets and to send a strong message that they are not welcome in society and especially Sacramento.”*

*“Antifa Sacramento believes in non-sectarian defense of other anti-fascists and a multi-faceted approach to fighting racism. This means that individual people have their own methods of combating hate and we do not criticize others tactics. Our objective is never violence. We believe that hate should not have a platform in our community and we are determined to shut them down. Ignoring them DOES NOT make them go away and will only perpetuate the problem we already have.”<sup>1</sup>*

When this event was slated to begin, both sides had members who were armed with knives, poles, pepperspray and other weapons. Despite being outnumbered at least ten to one, the injuries were relatively equal on both sides, with multiple members on each side (7 total, combined) were hospitalized with severe wounds, and at least 9 more were significantly injured. Sacramento Antifa claimed they were fighting in self-defense, as did TWP. Outside observers claimed that it appeared that both groups were ready to fight.

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1 The highlighted portions are important as we further discuss this event, given certain evidence regarding the events of the day, as well as important as we proceed with our discussion of the anti-fascist movement. It is important to keep in mind that each Antifa group consists of a core of regulars, who organize events and are responsible for certain administrative tasks, and other loosely associated individuals who participate to varying degrees, possibly just by showing up to one specific event for personal objectives which conflict with the group's stated goals, such as using it as an opportunity to vandalize, engage in physical fights, or steal.

## Ku Klux Klan (KKK)



Ku Klux Klan emblem<sup>a</sup>

*“America suffers from a recurring nightmare. For the past 140 years, the Land of Opportunity has harbored terrorists who pledge themselves to crushing any hope of progress for minorities – non-whites, non-Christians, immigrants, or anyone who does not toe the line of fundamentalist Old Testament “morality”. The punishment for nonconformity is arson, bombing, whipping and mutilation – even death. Attired in ghostly robes, their faces hidden under hoods, today these insurrectionists conspire against the U.S. government itself.”<sup>1</sup>*

Any discussion about enemies of Antifa and others in the American anti-fascist movement would be incomplete without at least a brief mention of one of the most readily identifiable white supremacy groups, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The KKK has been responsible for homicides, arson, brutal assaults, and other heinous acts throughout its

<sup>a</sup> Attribution: By KAMiKAZOW, CC BY 2.5, Wikimedia Commons

<sup>1</sup> Opening paragraph of Chapter 1 of Newton's *The Ku Klux Klan: History, Organization, Language, Influence and Activities of America's Most Notorious Secret Society*.

history. From a historical perspective, the behavior, if not outright encouraged, allowed by this organization is inexcusable. The KKK's history is divided into three major time periods by historians: the initial group, the first revival of the twentieth century, and the civil rights-era revival. In this section, a brief overview of the history of each movement will be discussed, along with the KKK's doctrine, conflicts with Antifa, and will conclude with a list of active chapters.

## Origins



An 1869 by the KKK threatening local politicians and others.<sup>a</sup>

## Precursors

On August 1619, the first ship carrying twenty African slaves arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, an event, which at the time was seemingly harmless, was the initial trigger for the later formation and aggressive acts of the KKK. By 1725, seven colonies passed anti-amalgamation statutes, banning interracial marriages. By 1750, eleven British colonies officially recognized slavery.

<sup>a</sup> A cartoon threatening that the KKK would lynch carpetbaggers, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Independent Monitor, 1868.



Not all African slaves were peaceful towards their appointed property – many rebelled against those seeking to house them as human chattel. On September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1663, the first thoroughly documented slave-revolt occurred in Gloucester County, Virginia. In April 1712, a slave-revolt in New York City left nine whites dead. Twenty-five whites were killed during a multi-day slave-revolt in Stono, South Carolina, which finally ended on September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1739. By 1860, more than 400 slave-revolts had occurred<sup>1</sup>.

In response, groups of slave-owners and politicians organized slave patrols, where bondsmen (“patterollers”) captured and on occasion, tortured, slaves who escaped their masters. Free blacks were targeted at times as well. In the state of Tennessee, all citizens were mandated to service in patteroles or faced a \$5 fine. Other states required service in state militias which upheld enforcement of slavery laws. Maryland Senator Reverdy Johnson (1863-68) stated the original KKK was the legitimate offspring of the patrol” and former slave J.T. Tims wrote the following: “It was before the war that I knew 'bout the Ku Klux. There wasn't no difference between the patroles and the Ku Klux that I know of. If th'd ketch you, they all would whip you. I don't know nothin' about the Ku Klux after the war.”<sup>1</sup> In Northern states that relied less on slavery, many protestants felt hatred towards certain new immigrants, Catholics, Jews, and other groups. Prior to development as the “Ku Klux Klan”, the predecessor groups were labeled under the umbrella term: “Know-Nothing”.

The first iteration of the Ku Klux Klan, with the name derived from the Greek word “kuklos” (meaning “circle”), began as a private social club in the spring of 1866, by a group of six veterans of the Confederacy in Pulaski, Tennessee. Members dressed in all white to adhere to the superstitions held by numerous blacks regarding ghouls and ghosts of confederate soldiers haunting them for disobedience and escapes. In 1867, the Pulaski chapter met with other groups to unify and construct a hierarchy for the KKK. In the ensuing years, numerous grotesque acts of violence occurred, and high-ranking officials, such as Grand Dragon John Gordon (Georgia governor and senator), obtained political office.

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1 Information from Michael Newton's *The Ku Klux Klan*, pages 5-7.

1 Newton's *The Ku Klux Klan*, page 6.

In response to the excessive violence, the Fifteenth Amendment was passed, which stated:

*“Section 1*

*The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.*

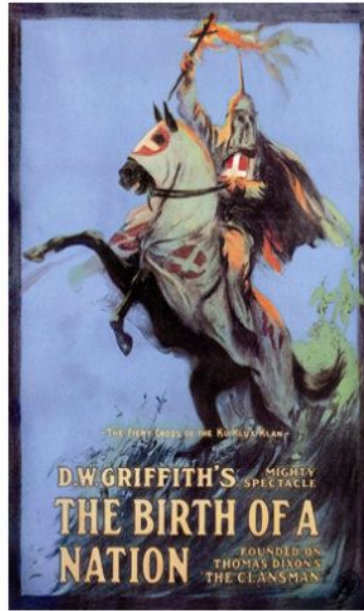
*Section 2*

*The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”*

A series of Enforcement Acts, with stiff penalties for the actions of KKK members, and the “Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871”, which defined KKK violence as equivalent to a rebellion against the United States, were further detrimental to the KKK. Finally, President Ulysses S. Grant led a crusade for massive indictments of thousands of KKK members.

In January 1869, Grand Wizard Nathan Forrest announced a general disbandment of the KKK, and by 1873, active participation in the group was reduced to the fringes of society. However, the KKK was not dead forever – it would gain popularity again in the future as a result of civil discontent resurfacing during the early twentieth century, and popular support of actors, politicians, and numerous other influential members of society.

## First Revival



Movie poster from *The Birth of a Nation*.<sup>a</sup>

*“Forget the idea of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan being an organization that flogs and tars and feathers people. Nor is it an organization that sneaks around into people's back yards trying to get something on somebody. We do, however, bring the transgressor to justice through the duly constituted officers of the law. Let us look beyond the horizon and see this thing from a national standpoint. Let us see to the influx of unfit foreign immigration.... Let's get behind Old Glory and the church of Jesus Christ.”<sup>1</sup>*

The “second KKK” arose during a time of particular crisis: World War I. Thomas Dixon Jr.'s two books, *The Clansmen* and *The Leopard's Spots*, D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation*, and numerous other books, articles, and propaganda, influenced the revival of the KKK, founded by William Joseph Simmons of Stone Mountain,

a 1915 movie poster, distributed by Epoch Film Co.

1 Imperial Night Hawk (1924) from Baker's *Gospel According to the Klan*.

Georgia.

The reborn KKK promoted a chivalrous image – an image of being a protector of American values, of women, children and family. According to Joseph Simmons, the new Klan's goals were “to shield the sanctity of the home and the chastity of womanhood; to maintain white supremacy; to teach and faithfully inculcate a high spiritual philosophy through an exalted ritualism; and by a practical devoutness to conserve, protect and maintain the distinctive institutions, rights, privileges, principles and ideals of a pure Americanism”.<sup>1</sup>

The new Klan was even more heavily focused on Protestantism, with the majority of Klan lecturers of this period being Protestant ministers<sup>2</sup>. Membership levels rose in reaction to perceived moral decay – moral decay exemplified by adultery, divorce, public drunkenness and defiance of prohibition laws, and inner city gangs. The Catholics and Jews were perceived cultural threats, given the widely-held belief that both groups sought to influence society away from its traditional values through positions of authority. At it's peak, the revived KKK constituted between four and six million members.

The reason for the decline of the second iteration of the KKK is multi-faced, but many attribute the abundance of weight to David Curtis (D.C.) Stephenson, a prominent 1920s Indiana politician and KKK Grand Dragon, leading over 22 states. Despite the KKK's stated position of being a protectorate of women and children, as well as in favor of prohibition, D.C. Stephenson was accused and subsequently convicted of a murder, rape, and kidnapping of a woman named Madge Oberholtzer. Following this and related, highly publicized events, membership in the KKK drastically plummeted to relative insignificance.

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1 Quote taken from William Joseph Simmon's pamphlet entitled *ABC of the Invisible Empire*, 1917.

2 Brian R. Farmer, *American Conservatism: History, Theory, and Practice* (2005). page 208.

## Modern Era

Various iterations of, and splinter groups based upon, the KKK have resurfaced in the past century, with the most significant period being the Civil Rights Era, where KKK membership soared as a result of fears regarding desegregation, an influx of immigration, and mis-attributed blame on minorities for the downfall of cities that were formerly major hubs for steel and other forms of manufacturing. Attempts at shifting the KKK away from a militant social group, towards a more intellectual, policy-making body by former members such as Dr. David Duke and Don Black, have mostly failed. The current state of the KKK is that of a disorganized series of small, rather loosely associated, groups, mostly engaged in petty criminal activity. Significant infighting as well as infiltration by law enforcement exists in the modern-day KKK.

## Doctrine & Structure

***“The agency by which the South was saved from the devilish scheme of Thaddeus Stevens to Africanize it and convert it into a mongrel, half-bred section was the original Ku Klux Klan!”<sup>1</sup>***

The KKK is a white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant organization which promotes a society without the presence or influence of Catholics, Jews, black people or other minorities or non-white immigrants. Historically, only Anglo-Saxon protestants were allowed membership, but membership in the present day KKK is more lax, depending on the specific group, typically allowing anyone who is deemed to be white, not of mixed race. The KKK is anti-abortion, anti-immigration, and places priority of the group and race above the U.S. Constitution and federal, state, and local governments. All KKK members must swear by an oath of obedience, secrecy, fidelity, and swear to never slander, defraud, deceive, or otherwise commit any wrongdoing against the KKK.

The KKK's entire body of governance is the empire, which is subdivided into realms, realms divided into dominions, dominions into

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1 From former KKK member Henry P. Fry's book, *The Modern Ku Klux Klan*, page 124.

provinces, and provinces into dens. The grand wizard heads the empire, grand dragon heads the realm, grand titan heads dominion, grand giant heads province, and the grand cyclops is the chief officer of a den. Within a den, the grand magi is second in command, the grand monk is third in command, the grand exchequer is the accountant, grand turk is the officer who notifies others of meetings, and the grand scribe is the record keeper.

## **Battles with Antifa**

On December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a group consisting of less than 100 active members, led by Imperial Wizard Chris Barker, planned a victory march through Danville, VA. Reports vary from residents and participants, with at most a presence of a few vehicles driving through town with confederacy-sympathetic assemblage attached. Numerous photos show a presence of counter-protesters, yet fail to show any presence of the KKK-affiliated or allied groups.

Another event occurred in Roxboro, NC. The actual parade was actually a motorcade, consisting of less than 30 vehicles displaying a barrage of flags and signs, ranging from Confederate battle flags, American flags, flags denoting group affiliation. The entire motorcade occurred over less than an hour, which was another event where Antifa and allied groups claimed significant victory, yet it appears the actual size and scope of the planned event was exaggerated. It was successful in drawing attention to specific anti-racist aligned groups and causes, though.

The majority of post-Trump battles between Antifa and the KKK-specific groups have been rather insignificant, as the focus has shifted towards the increased prominence of younger groups, such as TWP. Antifa has over a decade of battles with KKK-affiliates prior to the Trump movement. A cursory discussion of various battles will be discussed in the remainder of this section.

In early 2012, Anti-Racist Action, an Antifa-associated group, engaged in intelligence gathering to obtain the constitution, rank system, hand shakes, salutes, and personal information of organizers and information for the United Northern and Southern Knights of the

Ku Klux Klan (UNSKKKK). This resulted in tactical information, such as the primary and secondary meeting places for the Ohio chapter in case of an emergency, being released to the public. Recruitment strategies, the specific hand gestures, ceremonial procedures, and other information was also released in the resultant data dump.<sup>1</sup>

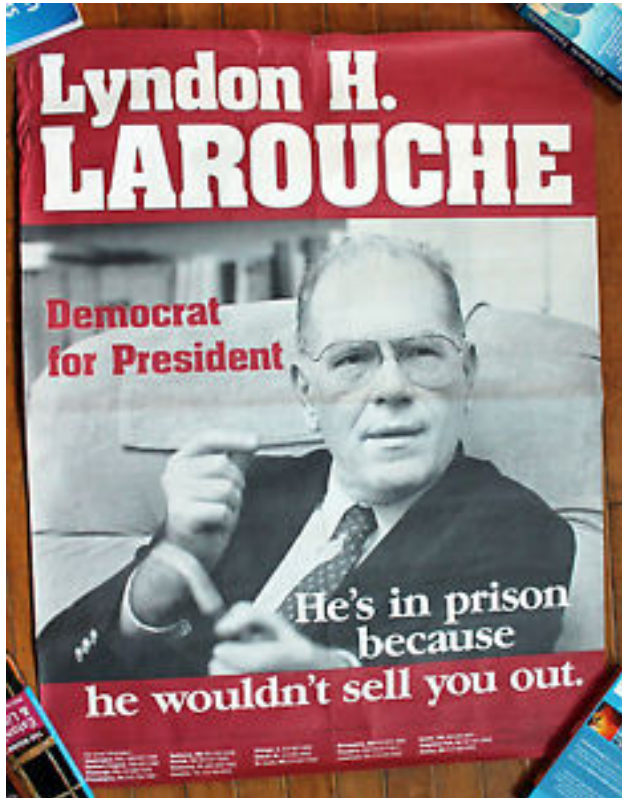



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<sup>1</sup> For information obtained from the hack, go to: <https://torchantifa.org/?p=87>.



## LaRouche Movement



1992 Democratic Primary poster<sup>a</sup>

***“It is not necessary to wear brown shirts to be a fascist... It is not necessary to wear a swastika to be a fascist... It is not necessary to call oneself a fascist to be a fascist. It is simply necessary to be one!”<sup>1</sup>***

The majority of organizations discussed thus far have been mostly social movements, believing that the political system and society in general has surpassed the point of reconciliation. This varies in

a Photo of a 1992 campaign poster from the Lyndon LaRouche, Jr. DNC primary.

1 Lyndon LaRouche, quoted from “Solving the Problem Machiavellian Problem Today” in *New Solidarity*, July 7, 1978.



degree, with groups such as NSM and TWP performing more of a political activist role, occasionally supporting candidates with policies closer in alignment to their desired outcomes. In this section, we will discuss Lyndon H. LaRouche, a political activist and organizer and former presidential candidate in every presidential election from 1976 through 2004.

Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., one of the central figures maligned with the neo-fascism – albeit whether or not he qualifies as a fascist is definitely debatable – throughout the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, continues to exert influence through the LaRouche PAC and other aspects of the LaRouche Movement. LaRouche, raised a Quaker, conscientiously objected to World War II, and served in the U.S. Army as a non-combatant in India, where he learned of members of the Indian Independence Movement who feared being conscripted to service against independence forces by the British government.

After serving in the military, LaRouche joined the Socialist Worker's Party (SWP), eventually joining a revolutionary faction where he met Gerry Healy, a well-known Trotskyite. After leaving SWP, he was an instructor of Marx's dialectical materialism at the New York City School. During the Columbia University protests, he created the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), which attempted a coup against the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). NCLC support rose significantly, becoming an international group spanning over 25 cities and over one thousand members. LaRouche went on to develop an intelligence network, media group, and continues to be active as a political activist and economic forecaster.

The LaRouche Movement focuses on the core principles set forth by Lyndon LaRouche. LaRouche's economic model, named dialectical economics, utilizes inspiration from his admiration for Karl Marx, as well as focusing heavily on a return to the economic-recovery model utilized by former President Franklin D. Roosevelt during the Great Depression and World War II. Debt needs to be reorganized, currency and exchange rates must be stabilized, and bilateral trade agreements, not globalist agreements, for the benefit of the state are necessary. Regulation of monopolies and other businesses deemed detrimental to the state must be brought under control. The economic model shares commonalities with Third Position Fascism,, but for the most part, is a return to economic policy of President Franklin D.

Roosevelt.

LaRouche's political platform focuses heavily on the economic policy above, including a desire to return to a gold-based national and world monetary system, a replacement of the private U.S. Federal Reserve System with a national bank as outlined in the U.S. Constitution, large-scale infrastructure projects with the secondary benefit of creating employment, a tough stance on crime, with a focus on criminal elements in the banking and political systems, a shift in military spending towards the Strategic Defense Initiative, also called "Star Wars" from the Reagan administration, for the creation of advanced defensive weapons utilizing laser and particle beam technology, growth in food production for the nation and a farm debt moratorium, and a return of Glass-Steagall.

LaRouchian economic policy is frequently referred to as the four laws. The laws are as follows:

- (1) "Immediate re-enactment of the Glass-Steagall law instituted by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, without modification, as to principle of action."
- (2) "A return to a system of top-down, and thoroughly defined, National Banking, as a national banking-and-credit system placed under the supervision of the Office of the Treasury Secretary of the United States."
- (3) "The purpose of the use of a Federal Credit-system, is to generate high-productivity trends in improvements of employment, with the accompanying intention, to increase the physical-economic productivity, and the standard of living of the persons and households of the United States."
- (4) "Adopt a Fusion-Driver 'Crash Program.'"

LaRouche reduces academic and political arguments to a continuation of the dispute between Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, where Aristoteleans believe truth is relative, and obtained through empirical observation and sensory perception, and Platonics, who believe in absolute truth and idealism<sup>1</sup>.

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1 Obtained from LaRouche PAC website in an article written by Lyndon H.

LaRouche, Jr., on June 10<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

LaRouche followers have had limited success in obtaining public office, less so after the mid-1980s where a crusade against LaRouchians by the Democratic National Convention (DNC). In 1986, two LaRouchians, Mark J. Fairchild nominated for Lieutenant Governor and Janice Hart for Secretary of State in Illinois, won nominations in the Democratic Primaries, leading to Governor Adlai E. Stevenson III to lead a crusade to discredit the nominations, labeling LaRouche and his followers as far-right extremists, utilizing unconventional methods of political advertising such as setting up card tables in public places and using megaphones in airports and on the streets<sup>1</sup>.

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1 Discussed in March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1986 article by Andrew H. Malcom in *The New York Times*.

### *LaRouche PAC & Youth Movement*



Modern-day political activism by LaRouche and his followers continues through the LaRouche PAC, the LaRouche Youth Movement (LYM), and other organizations of lesser significance. While unable to gain a significant enough following to be elected to public office, LaRouche continues to attempt to exert control over the political process, by attempting to influence candidates to be sympathetic towards his platform and causes.



The LaRouche PAC and LYM in the United States, and the Schiller Institute and International Caucus of Labor Committees (ICLC) internationally, comprise a few thousand members, with over one thousand believed to be in the United States. The group has been active in a mixed set of activist activities, some of which align with the goals of the anti-fascist movement, and others which oppose it.

The LaRouche Movement formed the Committee to Save the Children of Iraq in 1991, directly opposing sanctions set forth by the United Nations (UN). Involvement of the LaRouche Movement was directly opposed by numerous peace activist groups, concerned about Zionist explanations for the events of the war being propagated by the LaRouche Movement, Dr. Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam, and the Liberty Lobby<sup>1</sup>. While also tangentially involved in this matter, it is

1 Discussed in Ross Gelbspan's January 22, 1991 article in *The Boston Globe* entitled "Peace Activists Express Concerns About Anti-Semites in

unclear whether Antifa had any involvement in countering the LaRouche Movement's involvement.

On August 12<sup>th</sup>, 2009, an LYM group appeared at a Cleveland, OH Tea Party Rally, passing out literature, holding up picture of Obama with a Hitler mustache and singing Bach hymns.

On May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Oakland LYM appeared at the Los Angeles Opera, protesting the bail out of the Los Angeles Opera and the choice of Wagner's Ring Cycle, despite Wagner expressing anti-semitic views and being the music played while people were sent to concentration camps. Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger recently cut a portion of the budget allotted to state Medicaid services, and President Barack Obama recently signed the Affordable Care Act. The LYM sang hymns while passing out material explaining Richard Wagner's anti-semitic views and actions, as well as his influence on Adolf Hitler. Literature about the harm of both Schwarzenegger's budget cut to health care as well as the Affordable Care Act were also passed out. Posters were held calling for reinstatement of New Deal Era policies, including Glass-Steagall.

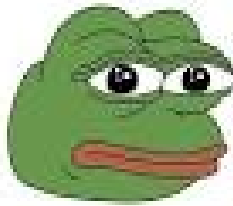
The LaRouche Movement and Antifa differ greatly in their view of the Donald Trump presidency, with the LaRouche Movement viewing it as an opportunity to implement desired changes, and Antifa viewing it as being a fascist regime, harmful to women, minorities, LGBTQ+, Muslims, and others.

In April 2017, the LaRouche Movement protested the Russian collusion theory in favor of cooperation between Russia, China, and the United States, for the benefit of all three nations and the working class. Marsha Mallouk, an organizer for the LYM, stated: "The accusations of collusion between President Trump and Russia are absurd, they are designed to force the US to continue the war drive ex-President Obama and Hillary Clinton had oriented us towards." Mallouk claims the media and certain government officials are disseminating propaganda and placing unneeded pressure on the President and other government officials to reject any ambitions of cooperating with Russia.

LYM and the rest of the LaRouche Movement is typically classified as far-right and fascist, yet protest against fascism and despite sharing superficially similar theories of the origins of many world

conflicts (i.e. Zionists), are universally disliked by neo-Nazi and neo-fascist groups. The LaRouche Movement protests against racism, poverty, and government / corporate corruption, yet is disliked by Antifa, the Occupy Movement and related groups. If nothing else, the LaRouche Movement demonstrates that political issues aren't simply dichotomous choices; the issues are more complex and in their opinion, the FDR-inspired solutions would be a massive benefit to society as a whole.

## The “Alt-Right”



Pepe the frog, a cartoon frog used for memes during 2016 presidential election.

The “alt-right” carries a rather wide-ranging definition depending on the context. The term “alternative right”, shortened “alt-right”, originated with Richard Spencer, a white nationalist / identitarian who seeks to ensure white, European ideals are protected within the United States. However, with the assistance of the mainstream media and a misinformed public, the term “alt-right” is used colloquially as a general term for wide array of individuals who voted for, or seem to have voted for, Donald Trump, and express said support through memes and other modes of communication. In the following section, the meaning of alt-right as applied to any individual or institute will be differentiated between those who are labeled under the large umbrella of “alt-right”, and those who specifically fall within Richard Spencer's ideology.





## American Renaissance

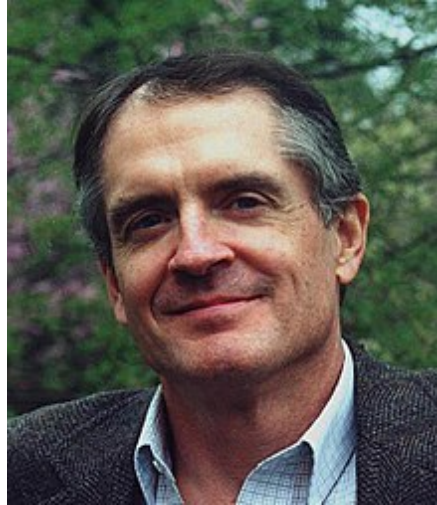


Photo of Jared Taylor, founder of New Century Foundation

***“Most whites do not have a racial identity, but they would do well to understand what race means for others. They should also ponder the consequences of being the only group for whom such an identity is forbidden and who are permitted no aspirations as a group.”<sup>1</sup>***

The New Century Foundation, and the related publication *American Renaissance*, are creations of Jared Taylor, an individual frequently labeled as a white nationalist and white supremacist. Jared Taylor is a leading figure of the “race realism” movement, a topic discussed later in this chapter. His organization and publication express a desire to understand the historical, cultural, and biological differences amongst different races, for the stated goal of resolving racial conflict in the Western world. Jared Taylor has openly stated he is in favor of self-segregation, believing that without government intervention, racial and other groups of similar characteristics – biological and/or cultural – would organize into groups of perceived similar individuals.

Jared Taylor is guilty of expressing unpopular ideas regarding race. Whether or not his intentions are based on racist ideology or a

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1 Quote by Jared Taylor.

desire for a common good are debatable. However, the evidence does not clearly point in to him being racial supremacist.

Jared Taylor and his associated organizations have denounced violent actions against him and his staff, as well as attempts at protest against conferences and other events he has attempted to organize. This dates back over a decade, including a scheduled talk in Halifax, Canada, where Jared Taylor was assaulted and removed from a meeting hall.



#### **Antifa march outside of 15<sup>th</sup> annual American Renaissance**

Lacy MacAuley (picture below) claimed that conference goers attempted a hit-and-run of her. She posted on Twitter a video of the car leaving the parking lot at slow speed. No other evidence was provided of this event actually occurring as stated.



## Nationalism, Separatism & Supremacism

When assessing the intentions and desired outcomes of groups espousing ideas deemed radical on the basis of group membership, most commonly race, but historically and presently also based on class, gender identity and other factors, it's necessary to determine whether a group is simply expressing a pride in group membership and a desire to ensure the values and history of the group are protected versus a desire for segregation of groups or in extreme cases, as witnessed under the Third Reich, exterminate those deemed to be a member of an inferior group. In this section, we will focus on the group of whites of European origin. However, the ideas expressed below can be applied to other racial, ethnic and other societal groups.

A useful way to view these groups of varying desired outcomes and methods for attaining the desired outcomes is on a spectrum. The core ideology shared amongst white nationalists overlaps with white separatists and supremacists.

On far-left end of the spectrum are white nationalists such as Richard Spencer, who seek to preserve the values and culture of whites of European-origin through debate and other non-violent means. Individuals on this end of the spectrum do not seek eradication of other races – many discuss a desire for all races to advance in such a way that is beneficial to all races. As one moves down the spectrum, the white separatist groups seek to create a white ethnostate. Some white separatists seek to do so through peaceful means such as ending immigration from Latin America, the Middle East and other regions, while others seek to attain the goal of a separate ethnostate through more aggressive means.

On the far-right end of the spectrum, many white supremacist groups exist, who discuss racial superiority of whites over any other racial group. This spectrum can also be used for other races as well, with more militant groups residing farther to the right-end of the spectrum.

White nationalism has been frequently attacked in the media as being a moral equivalent to white supremacism. White nationalists do not necessarily believe whites are a superior race; however, white

supremacists often ascribe to shared principles to those classified as white nationalists. White nationalism, separatism and supremacy can be viewed in hierarchical form, with white nationalism branching off to different sects of varying extremism, including identitarianism, separatism, and supremacy. In the following discussion, we will refer to less extreme manifestations of white nationalism, manifestations which are peaceful, under the term identitarianism, to avoid potential confusion.

White identitarianism seeks to protect and preserve perceived shared traditional values, heritage, culture, and achievement of the Euro-centric white race, believed by some to be derived from the Caucus region, and others, mostly certain individuals in the Christian Identity movement, as descending from biblical Israel. Immigration from certain countries and regions, including Mexico and the Middle East, is perceived to be a threat to the sustainability of shared European value.

## Race Realism

The concept of race realism is a primary focus of members of the white identitarian movement. The American Renaissance summarizes race realism as follows: “That race is an important aspect of individual and group identity, that different races build different societies that reflect their natures, and that it is entirely normal for whites (or for people of any other race) to want to be the majority race in their own homeland. If whites permit themselves to become a minority population, they will lose their civilization, their heritage, and even their existence as a distinct people.”<sup>1</sup>

Race realism is not exclusively studied by “whites”. Sade Adebayo, in her column on *American Renaissance*, outlines the factors leading to her away from her initial anti-racist ideology towards activism for acceptance of race realism<sup>2</sup>. Sade Adebayo is an African

1 Quoted from American Renaissance's “Our Issues” section. American Renaissance can be accessed at <https://www.amren.com>.

2 In her article, she discusses her experiences visiting her parents' home country of Nigeria, as well as life experiences and academic research which led to her acceptance of a more race realist world view. Regardless of one's own views on race, her article outlines legitimate concerns related to the Black community in the United States and sub-Saharan Africa. To

American with parents who immigrated from Nigeria. Race realism focuses on scientific inquiry into IQ, personality, and other differences amongst various racial categories. Given the scope of this book, only a cursory review of the scientific literature will be discussed.

The scientific literature on between-group differences in IQ is mixed, with varying degrees of acceptance depending on the depth and direction of analysis. Studies on racial differences in IQ become controversial due to historically utilized arguments related to race with the purpose of creating a clear demarcation between so-called superior group(s) (i.e. European-origin individuals in early American history) and those deemed inferior (i.e. indigenous populations and African slaves).

The American Anthropological Association adopted a statement which implied race is a social construct and explicitly states “races” are meaningless and an unscientific way of explaining variation amongst human beings<sup>1</sup>.

Dr. C. Loring Brace, retired Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at University of Michigan, supports this claim, stating that “no such thing as a biological entity that warrants the term “race” exists, and while morphological differences tend to emerge when a group is isolated for a few hundred years or more, it does not make race a coherent entity<sup>2</sup>.

Statistical evidence supports differences in racial groups, whether a product of evolutionary biology or social construction, related to cognitive abilities. Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's book, *The Bell Curve*, is a seminal work in the discussion of IQ differences amongst group, but has been deemed controversial, mostly by the negative media attention bestowed upon him. His work is

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read her full article, go to: <https://www.amren.com/news/2015/10/i-am-black-and-a-race-realist>

- 1 Full statements can be found in the following resources: American Anthropological Association. AAA Statement on Race. May 17, 1998. American Anthropological Association. Statement on “Race” and Intelligence”. December 1994.
- 2 From NOVA article, February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2000. Dr. Brace is a world-renowned physical anthropologist, specializing in morphological variation between human populations.

generally accepted amongst psychometricians and psychologists, and his statistical methods have only received rather minor criticism, focusing primarily on how he chose to divide up the groups for assessing variation between groups of varying levels of education attainment.

Herrnstein and Murray (1994)'s findings were generally optimistic, showing a closing of the IQ gap as socioeconomic status, access to improved schools, better nutrition, and other factors for Black Americans improved. This provides credence to the argument that IQ is at least partially related to environmental factors. Heredity seems to be a factor as well, supported by Rushton and Jensen (2005) and other studies. Given the controversial nature of the topic, racial differences with respect to IQ studies are rather rare today.

## Summary

In this chapter, an overview of an amalgamation of “fascist” (per Antifa’s definition) groups was provided. These groups include Christian fundamentalist groups who focus on an Ademic interpretation involving the superiority of the white race, groups who are clearly white supremacist and either condone, or promote, violence against either other racial groups or groups who approve of “race-mixing” and other behaviors deemed unethical, white nationalist and/or separatist groups who do not condone violence against other racial groups, but do believe that racial and ethnic groups should each have their own ethno-state, and groups who do not fall in any of the previous categories, such as the LaRouche Movement, which adheres to tenants of Third Position (discussed in Chapter 3) philosophy. Interspersed within the discussion are topics of relevance to Antifa’s battles, including the idea of “race realism” and research on IQ differences between racial groups.

In Chapter 4, a definition of fascism as a economic and political force was established, at least with respect to the history of fascism. However, with the inclusion of groups who do not adhere to historical definition, we must further deconstruct and analyze what fascism means. Without an agreed upon definition of fascism, the battle between more centrist elements of society will fail to find resolution simply due to semantical arguments, arguments about the meaning of the word rather than the actual issues with the philosophy and implementations.

In the following chapter, we will finish our discussion of fascism, ending with a definition adhered to by Antifa and related anti-fascist allies, and try to discover where commonalities amongst all forms of fascism exist. While seemingly a bit long-winded of a discussion, without a universal understanding of what fascism is, and without an understanding of what is meant by fascism to Antifa, outsiders will be ill-prepared to understand what Antifa is fighting for, and whether or not society-at-large should mobilize in defense of, or in opposition to, the forces of which Antifa is combating. Continued societal debates will devolve into arguments of semantics, not substance, over a lack of a shared, or at least mutually understood, lexicon.

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# Chapter VI:

## Defining Fascism

### Introduction

*"The word Fascism has now no meaning in so far as it signifies 'something not desirable'."*<sup>1</sup>

The semantics of the word "fascism" has changed since its inception with Mussolini in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Italy. For many, the term fascism is applied when perhaps terms such as "prejudice" or "racism" are more accurate descriptors. Language is constantly evolving, with meanings of words and the application of positive or negative connotations to words changing with generations. A not so uncommon argument against the "anti-fascist" camp is their attacks on individuals and institutions which do not adhere to Mussolini's definition of fascism. This is, however, a lazy argument – an argument of semantics without substance. In order to adequately understand the Antifa movement, one must understand how Antifa members conceptualize fascism.

Thus far, we have discussed historical fascism, utilizing the examples of Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Hirohito and others, and modern-day organizations labeled as "fascist" ranging from white supremacist religious organizations to fringe political parties. In this chapter, we will begin by discussing other usages of fascism in modern colloquium, synthesize statements by various Antifa affiliates and allies, and set forth a series of useful definitions for fascism as it exists in today's society. This chapter will conclude the discussion of the wide array of ideas of which Antifa is combating. While reading about each form of fascism, keep in mind that political ideologies never exist in

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1 George Orwell, 1945.

pure, unadulterated form – the separate constructs are important for description and research, but each fascist organization exhibits qualities from multiple branches of fascism.

## Clerical Fascism

Clerical fascism is a form of fascism which focuses on developing a society on ultra-religiosity. These are political systems of theocratic, authoritarian rule, with mandatory observance to typically a very narrow, specific interpretation of a spiritual doctrine. This need not be built upon the Abrahamic<sup>1</sup> religions – it can be based upon pagan systems of belief, or even on a form of militant atheism. The worship of state symbols as observed under Mussolini in Italy is substituted with symbols of a specific religion.

Fascist regimes and structures encompassing values, traditions, and typically literal interpretations of Islamic religious texts are commonly referred to as Islamofascism, Islamic Fascism or Islamicism. The phraseology is rejected by some scholars, including Esposito and Kalin (2011), who state that if such an ideology does exist, it would be more appropriately called Muslim Fascism, as a religion is all-inclusive and incapable of being fascist<sup>2</sup>.

Cases of groups uniting under Islamic extremism share many traits with right-wing fascist groups and various reactionary-populist movements throughout history. According to relative deprivation theory, individuals denied expected social advancement are disappointed, leaving individuals with frustrated ambitions. This leads to increased susceptibility to indoctrination into fringe political groups, which promise a pathway to social advancement through a common cause of revolution. With Islamic extremist groups, the promise of reward in the afterlife, as well as the Qu'ran dictating the necessity of jihad, are utilized as propaganda tools for recruitment. Violent measures are used

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- 1 The Abrahamic religions include Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and the direct descendants of these religions.
  - 2 Obtained from *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, a work which directly challenges overreaching attacks on Islam and the Muslim community in American politics from the Bush era through Obama.



to ensure continued compliance with the radical group norms, with threats of execution for apostasy.

Numerous scholars of Islam have pointed out parallels between politicized Islam and fascism. Mohamed Sifaoui (2008) discusses shared beliefs between the Nazis and Islamists<sup>1</sup>, including antisemitism and a desire to eradicate Jews, frequent statements of cultural and racial superiority, and hyper-militaristic action.

Other examples of clerical fascism include the Deutsche Christen movement, a “Positive Christianity” movement which combined aspects of Christianity with those of Nazism and Romanian Legionary Movement, which combined Orthodox Christianity with hyper-nationalism, antisemitism, authority worship, and ritualistic violent actions. In the previous chapter, the Aryan Nations could be classified as clerical fascism.

## **Corporatist Fascism**

Corporatist fascism refers to the economic component of fascism, where major interest groups representing industries work directly with the government for sociopolitical and economic action. The first case of this is Fascist Italy, where Mussolini adapted ideas acquired while a member of the socialist party in the development of economic policy for Italy. Numerous variations of corporatism have been implemented throughout the world since Mussolini's Fascism, as well as the economic systems proposed throughout Sir Oswald Mosley's political activism career.

A famous example of a mostly pure corporatist government is the *estado novo*, the Second Republic of Portugal. This was a pluricontinental nation-state, consisting of Portugal and its overseas provinces. Other nations have utilized aspects of corporatism, including – arguably – aspects of the United States government and its relationship with certain corporations.

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1 Islamism refers to an expansionary, militant version of Islam in the political sphere, which utilizes strict teachings of Islam. This is to be contrasted with Islam and the Muslim people, many of whom do not ascribe to Islamism.

## Racial / Ethnic Fascism

*“For the present, the new German cult, with its paraphernalia of symbols, rituals, hymns, sacred writings, saints, and martyrs brings genuine solace to the troubled middle-class soul.”<sup>1</sup>*

When lay people discuss fascism, the typical subject is referring to some group attempting to implement a system of racial or ethnic purity within a region. This is similar to the concept of the Aryan race of Nazi Germany, advocated for by the Aryan Nations, Creativity Movement, and numerous other American white nationalist groups. Fringe militant groups in modern-day Palestine / Israel also seek nation-states of ethnic and racial purity, for the Palestinians and Israelis, respectively.

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1 Frederick L. Schuman, 1934. Quoted in secondary source, Feldman & Turda (2007).

## Louis Farrakhan



Minister Louis Farrakhan, leader of Nation of Islam

Minister Louis Farrakhan Sr., born Louis Eugene Walcott, is a former calypso singer-turned Black-advocate and Muslim minister, who is a leading figure in the Nation of Islam, responsible for its resurgence in the 1980s. Louis Farrakhan has been accused of militant tactics throughout his career, including a perceived threatening letter to President George W. Bush in 2001 and by taking responsibility for creating the societal conditions leading to the death of Malcolm X.

Farrakhan's eventual goal was the establishment of a black ethno-state for the African Americans who were brought here against their will. Farrakhan has blamed the U.S. government for utilizing AIDS, street drugs, and other tactics to kill the Black community, and has organized events like the Million Man March of 1995 to attempt to organize others of his race.

Louis Farrakhan's relationships with other leaders of racial-fascist groups, and mutual respect from non-Black separatist and supremacist groups, is on the surface, seemingly contradictory. However, groups such as the Aryan Nations are not necessarily calling for the extermination of all whites – the goal is separate states, with a separate white ethnostate. Farrakhan's antisemitic remarks led to leaders in the white supremacy movement, including Thomas Metzger, voicing support of Farrakhan: "America is like a rotting carcass. The Jews are

living off the carcass like the parasites they are. Farrakhan understands this.”<sup>1</sup> The shared beliefs include wanting a separate ethnostate each for their respective racial groups and a belief that Jewish Zionism has performed a silent coup d'etat over the United States government.

## Third Position Fascism



Photo of Gregor Strasser, an important historical influence of Third Position economics

Third position fascism refers to a form of neo-fascism that promotes revolution against existing governments and implementation of a system of socioculturally homogeneous nation-states, constructed around racial or religious nationalism. The third position opposes both communism and capitalism in their pure forms, and historically, has sought to be the movement to bring together the far-left and the far-right in a common cause. The bulk of influence in Third Position economic policy is derived historically from Gregor Strasser of the German Nazi Party.

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1 Quoted from the October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1985 edition of the New York Times. Quote attributed to Thomas Metzger, former KKK leader in California and associate of the Aryan Nations.

## Franco Freda



Franco Freda (center), the father of modern Third Position political theory.

One of the most important figures in the rise of Third Position political philosophy is Franco Freda, a member of the remnants of the Italian far-right following the fall of Benito Mussolini in the post-World War II period. In 1969, Franco Freda outlined the abandonment of the reactionary right's anti-communist stance in the seminal work, *La Disintegrazione Del Sistema*.

## Muammar al-Gaddafi



Muammar al-Gaddafi, former leader of Libya and proclaimed hero of Third Position advocates.

*“Parliaments are the backbone of that conventional democracy prevailing in the world today. Parliament is a misrepresentation of the people, and parliamentary systems are a false solution to the problem of democracy. A parliament is originally founded to represent the people, but this in itself is undemocratic as democracy means the authority of the people and not an authority acting on their behalf. The mere existence of a parliament means the absence of the people. True democracy exists only through the direct participation of the people, and not through the activity of their representatives. Parliaments have been a legal barrier between the people and the exercise of authority, excluding the masses from meaningful politics and monopolizing sovereignty in their place. People are left with only a facade of democracy, manifested in long queues to cast their election ballots.”<sup>1</sup>*

Muammar al-Gaddafi, formerly the Brotherly Leader of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, is recognized as an important figure in Third Position political movement, with his *Green Book* (1975) and Third International Theory. In this book, al-Gaddafi lays out a new form of direct democracy, where parliamentary

1 Translated quote by Muammar al-Gaddafi in the *Green Book* (1975).

structures are replaced by a series of Basic Popular Conferences and People's Committees, which supervise the affairs of the nation, by the people and for the people. This form of governance is similar to the industry committees who replaced the Italian parliamentary structures in Fascist Italy. While seemingly more democratic than any other current political system in place, the issue arises with this system not insomuch as the people's committees having power – it arises from the top-level supervisor of the system, typically a form of dictator who has ultimate control over the military.

The *Green Book* (1975) begins by discussing what it means to be a wage earner (“slave”) and the importance of the worker having direct ownership over the means of production, a dialectical discussion of Marxist influence. Typical to neo-fascist philosophy, the basic economic axioms share direct similarities to the so-called far-left ideologies, including communism, syndicalism, and socialism. The point of divergence is the emphasis or lack of emphasis on shared nationalistic identity, present in fascist, and absent in Marxist, schools of thought. This is laid out in Part III of *The Green Book*, where al-Gaddafi lays out the social and biological basis and necessity of cohesive units, from the family, to tribe, to a nation of shared religion or culture.

The coup d'etat of al-Gaddafi in 2011 is an issue where commonalities between the beliefs of the far-right and far-left intersect, both tending to believe that Western powers overstepped their authority in ousting al-Gaddafi from power, the globalist-capitalist ideologies influencing the decision to remove al-Gaddafi from his position were unethical, and the political and philosophical systems underlying the decision for action require a revolutionary force to remove. Other non-majority political philosophies also object to the actions of Western forces in Libya, including many libertarians, constitutionalists – albeit the reasoning is not one of strict morality, but more of the lack of congressional involvement in the decision-making process, progressives, paleoconservatives, etc. The bulk of support for the ousting lies in the mainstream political parties: the Democrats (neo-liberal branch) and Republicans (neo-conservative branch) in the United States, the Tories and Labour parties in the United Kingdom, and similar parties in other nation-states.

## Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari (NAR)

The Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari (NAR) – anglicized Armed Revolutionary Nuclei – is an Italian right-wing militant group, existing from 1978 to the last known attack in which its name was used to credit the attack in 1988. The leader of NAR was Valerio “Giusva” Fioravanti, with assistance from Dario Pedretti, the main theorist, Francesca Mambro, a co-leader and leader of “women nucleus”, and Cristiano Fioravanti, Giusva's brother. NAR is most well-known for its August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1980 bombing of a Bologna, Italy train station, leading to eighty-five casualties, and claimed responsibility for at least twenty other attacks.

NAR derided early neo-fascist and left-wing revolutionary attempts at staging a coup d'etat and focused instead on spontaneous, disruptive acts of violence against infrastructure, government officials, and society-at-large. The group followed a rather scattered, heteroarchival structure rarely observed in right-wing militant groups – this is a common theme amongst left-wing revolutionary groups<sup>1</sup>. NAR lost popularity after massive arrests in the early 1980s stemming from investigations into the Bologna train station bombing.

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1 Research on personality characteristics amongst militant political groups has shown a trend towards right-wing group members scoring high in conscientiousness, specifically orderliness, while left-wing militants tend to score low in conscientiousness and high in openness. This is one explanation why left-wing militant groups tend to appear less orderly and more disheveled / chaotic, while right-wing militant groups tend to have clearly defined ranks, with clean-pressed uniforms matching for rank. Even those groups without professional-style uniforms (i.e. the KKK) have a clearly defined hierarchical structure, and specific uniforms for specific ranks.



## **Ethical Dilemma of Third Position**

The ethical dilemma of third position fascism results from nation-states rarely being socioculturally homogeneous, even within predominantly Arab Muslim nations which typically have multiple factions of Muslims. At minimum, a nation-state would need to somehow divide into separate entities of similar sociocultural groups to achieve the desired outcome, or concessions to sociocultural purity would be required. While able to unify with the far-left for militant purposes, once in power, the policies set forth under Third Position political theory would alienate the far-left, creating hostile conditions with the former allies.

## **Populism**

Populism is a political construct and form of social movement existing as part of fascism, yet also capable of existing completely separate from and even in direct opposition to fascism. In theory, populism focuses on the sovereignty of the people above the rulers and a direct connect between the people and ruling class. Populism arises in opposition of changing economic and societal norms, as a reactionary strategy for cultural self-preservation.

Prior to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, populism primarily referred to two specific events: the Russian narodnichestvo and the agrarian movement leading to the People's Party in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century America. In the Civil Rights Era, populist movements focusing on maintaining segregation and promoting a certain interpretation and expression of Protestantism occurred mostly in the south, with George Wallace and Dr. David Duke being well-known figures associated with this movement.



1901 poster of the Russian socialist party, based on the Narodniki-movement.<sup>a</sup>

The Russian revolutionary movement in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, led by Narodniks, was an important precursor to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian revolution. Led by mostly students and young intellectuals, with key figures including Mikhail Bakunin and Petr Lavrov, the goal was two-fold: to empower the peasants through education – by teaching them to read and engage in critical thinking – and spread the ideas of socialism as a viable political alternative to the oppressive autocratic regime of the czar. Facing the potential of imprisonment or exile, illegal reading materials were distributed throughout the peasant community and in 1873-1874, thousands of young students and intellectuals left school to live as peasants to accomplish these goals. Despite being a movement of seemingly virtuous intentions, it was eventually co-opted by authoritarians including Vladimir Lenin and eventually Joseph Stalin, leading to the oppressive Soviet regime lasting most of the 19<sup>th</sup>

a 1901 poster obtained from the Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Archives.

century.

The late 18<sup>th</sup> century agrarian movement, based mostly in the American South, was direct action against the changes in society associated with the negative aspects of industrialization. Farmers faced high costs, high debts, and decreasing profits, opposing the perceived corruption of the industrial and railroad tycoons during this period, who engaged in price gouging operations. This led to the creation of numerous agrarian coalitions, including negro<sup>1</sup> agrarian collectives, and the creation of the Populist Party. Despite being unsuccessful at winning the presidency election, the Granger Laws and other legislation was passed as a result of influence of the organized agrarian movements.

The Civil Rights Era of the 1950s and 60s is the point in history where the perception of populism became negative, associated prejudicial ideas. Seymour Lipset (1960) associated the new populist wave with disgruntled liberal classes, frustrated with declining socioeconomic status, to the point where these individuals were willing to accept regionalism, super-nationalism, racism, antisemitism, anti-cosmopolitanism, McCarthyism, and other fringe ideological constructions. Individuals including Alabama Governor George Wallace capitalized on the civil unrest by attempting four consecutive presidential campaigns, all unsuccessful. In modern times, individuals such as Dr. David Duke, continue to advocate for resolution of perceived issues of lower middle-class and impoverished white individuals and families, struggling during an extended economic recession.

This is where the Trump Administration, a regime with many populist elements, is equated with fascism. Trump won the 2016 Presidential Election with a platform addressing issues of concern of “Middle America”: fear of illegal immigrants committing crimes and causing a depression in wages, outsourcing of employment to foreign countries through trade deals benefiting only corrupt elites, excessive taxation which penalizes the middle-class while rewarding those on the low and high ends of the socioeconomic ladder, and a fear of multiculturalism replacing traditional Judeo-Christian American values.

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1 The term “negro” is considered politically incorrect at the time of this writing. However, “negro” is the term most commonly used in historical literature, so was used in this context to maintain consistency.

## Green Fascism (Eco-Fascism)



Image by RoueSolaire (2013).<sup>1</sup>

*"We recognize that separating humanity from nature, from the whole of life, leads to humankind's own destruction and to the death of nations. Only through a re-integration of humanity into the whole of nature can our people be made stronger. That is the fundamental point of the biological tasks of our age. Humankind alone is no longer the focus of thought, but rather life as a whole ... This striving toward connectedness with the totality of life, with nature itself, a nature into which we are born, this is the deepest meaning and the true essence of National Socialist thought."*<sup>2</sup>

"Green fascism"<sup>3</sup>, also referred to as eco-fascism or eco-terrorism, is a militant form of environmentalism, traceable back to the

1 Image by user RoueSolaire (2013) on deviantart.com.

2 Quote by Ernst Lehmann, from *Biologischer Wille – Wege und Ziele Biologischer Arbeit im neuen Reich*, 1934. This is a biological / ecological text from Germany while under the NSDAP of Adolf Hitler.

3 Not to be confused with the jargon for theocratic, counter-revolutionary Islamist movements seeking to establish a religious state in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and Sudan.

National Socialist platform of Nazi Germany and its influential predecessors, sharing many characteristics with other fascist movements. The “blood and soil” phrase dating back to the Nazi movement refers to the blood of the people and the soil of the environment, the two predominantly important factors in need of rescue and restoration by the Third Reich.

With green fascist movements, instead of the in-group being a specific racial, ethnic, religious, or other human-based group, the “in” group is “mother nature”, or the Earth and its environment. The out-group consists of all of humankind, which is perceived as having a detrimental effect on the environment, with the hierarchy of perceived threat placing those directly involved in large-scale activities detrimental to the environment as being the primary targets. Corporate executives and government officials responsible for activities perceived as harmful to the environment are analogous to “the Jews” to Nazism.

Despite environmentalism typically being a “leftist” concern, eco-terrorists share many traits with right-wing movements. Members of right-wing movements tend to have high sensitivity to disgust<sup>1</sup>. In the early years under Hitler's NSDAP regime, programs to eradicate pests from factories were implemented, later utilizing a variant of the same pesticide – Zyklon B – in death camps, with the Jews and others being perceived as rodents. This sentiment is echoed by James Jay Lee, who held hostages at the Silver Spring, Maryland Discovery Channel Headquarters, referring to immigrants, perceived as detrimental to the environment, as “filthy human children, “parasitic human infants, and “unwanted pollution babies”<sup>2</sup>.

Attempts at co-opting radical environmentalists of this form for right-wing anti-immigration movements have been attempted throughout modern history, with minimal success. One such example is Roy Beck, head of NumbersUSA, who has attended numerous conferences on ecology and events sponsored by green movements, advocating for a nativist, hyper-restrictive immigration policy. Betsy Hartman, author of *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs: The Global Politics of Population Control* (1995), stated that while on an environmental panel at University of Oregon in 1994, Professor

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1 Inbar et al (2011), Brenner & Inbar (2014), Dukes et al (2017).

2 Potok (2010).

Virginia Abernathy of Vanderbilt University “seemed to me to blame immigrants for overpopulating our country and destroying our environment.”<sup>1</sup> Chris Manes, an Earth First!er, praised AIDS and famine for population decreases in Ethiopia.<sup>2</sup>

Another term, “green anarchism”, has been utilized to describe what is essentially the same series of movements and ideology as eco-fascism. Some evidence exists for eco-fascism as being an incorrect term, including the lack of hierarchy in most radical environmentalist organizations<sup>3</sup> and a trend towards rather randomized subversive attacks. However, tactical commonalities with anarchist movements are insufficient to label such a movement as a leftist movement, especially given the broad label of anarchism covering a plethora of left- or right-wing movements.

## **Earth First! & Derivatives**

One of the most influential reactionary environmentalist groups is Earth First!, founded by Dave Foreman in 1979. It is rumored that Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society convinced Foreman to form the group, in order to perform extremist acts to make the demands of the Sierra Club and Wilderness Society appear more reasonable by comparison. Foreman's tenure at Earth First! ended after ten years; however, the movement continued. Derivative groups, such as Earth Liberation Front (ELF), have been responsible for numerous acts causing substantial damage and even human casualties.

Earth First!ers include numerous readily-known activists. Unabomber Ted Kaczynski utilized a list from an Earth First! Publication to help devise a list of individuals to mailbomb, including Gilbert Murray, President of the California Forestry Association, one of his victims. Literature from the movement was gathered from his cabin as well. Other prominent associates included Darryl Cherney, Judy Bari, Tre Arrow, Marius Mason and Jeff Luers.

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1 “Green Fascism & the Greening of Hate”, 2008.

2 Wall, 2000

3 Orderliness is a personality trait common in right-wing movements. Left-wing militant movements typically lack hierarchical structures, especially those of an anarchist variety, or at least purport an end goal of a heteroarchival society..

## Psychoanalytic Definition

One of the most interesting constructs of fascism focuses on Freudian psychoanalysis – the underlying psychological needs and forces at play in relationship to the emergence and maintenance of fascism in society. In a later volume, this topic will be explored in further detail. However, for the purpose of this book, a brief overview of the psychoanalytic conceptualization of fascism will be discussed, given it provides a unique perspective on fascism not as a unique sociopolitical phenomenon, but a more universal mass psychological phenomenon.

***“The fascist madman cannot be made innocuous if he is sought, according to the prevailing political circumstances, only in the German or the Italian and not in the American and the Chinese man as well; if he is not tracked down in onesself; if we are not conversant with the social institutions that hatch him daily.”<sup>1</sup>***

Wilhelm Reich, a German physician and psychoanalyst, is the first major figure to apply psychoanalysis to the study of fascism. On the surface, the Marxists seemingly had the upper hand, given the economic crisis – the Marxists advocated for worker's rights through an economic theory focused on equity in wealth distribution. However, when the conservative and mainstream liberal parties in Germany failed to adequately address problems in 1920s and early 1930s Germany, it was the National Socialists, through their mysticism and nationalism, not the Marxists through their economic theory and egalitarianism, which won at the ballot box. Otto Strasser provided an insightful comment into potential reasons for the failures of Marxists, stating, “Your basic error is that you reject or ridicule soul and mind and that you don't comprehend that which moves everything.”<sup>2</sup> The Marxist focus on socioeconomic and political power at the expense of spirituality has often been utilized as a way to portray Marxists as “atheistic”, “Godless”, etc, even though Marxist solutions at least address the problem. Given the rise of mystic fascism, and the rejection of economic socialism, in a time of growing economic equity and crisis, provides utility to a psychological explanation for fascism.

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1 Reich, 1970, pgs xv-xvi.

2 Reich, 1970, pg 5.



## Donald Trump Administration?



Photo of 45<sup>th</sup> President Donald Trump<sup>a</sup>

***“Rather than directing their anxiety and frustration towards the true structure of power that oppresses everyone in this country, many within the white working class are sharpening their feelings, stemming from precarity, into resentment directed at the bodies of black and brown people.”<sup>1</sup>***

Historically, Antifa espoused a desire for complete societal change and a destruction of the oligarchical, corporatist government system under every president in which the Black Bloc and Antifa were present. This included vehemently opposing President George W. Bush, the 43<sup>rd</sup> president, and his murderous preemptive war strategies, ousting Saddam Hussein from power under false pretenses. The misused bank

a Photo is from *The Chicago Tribune*, utilized for educational / research purposes.

1 Quote by B. Traven of *CrimethInc*, December 16, 2016. As a people, we need to unify not by race, gender, or other classes, but as a unified American public which demands basic liberties be respected by the government.



bailout legislation passed under President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama, the 44<sup>th</sup> president, sparked protest, including influencing the Occupy Movement, a social change movement with significant overlap of association between individuals involved in the Antifa and/or allied anti-racist and anti-fascist groups, and participation in the Occupy protests.

Donald Trump's campaign rhetoric outraged members of the anti-fascist movement, especially given their direct opposition, the white identitarian, white supremacist, and so-called "far-right" movements, expressed support for Donald Trump. Given my research and discussions with ranking members in multiple groups, the support for President Donald Trump by the so-called "far-right extremist" groups frequently starts and stops with the issue of immigration: if immigration is not curbed, or immigration policy is not modified to the benefit of whites of European origin, and deportation of at minimum, the illegal immigrants who are convicted of crimes, the support for Donald Trump will wane and mostly cease altogether. Secondary issues, including economic nationalism, are also important. However, these issues are also tied to immigration, so without solving immigration, economic nationalism in a meaningful context is impossible, according to many figures in the white nationalist movement.

The purpose of this section is not to litigate President Trump's purported association to fascist and racial supremacist ideology – that would likely facilitate further division in this country. The purpose is to discuss general views of Donald Trump, and the cases made by members of the movement regarding his potent idealization of fascist ideology.

The general perception of members of the anti-fascist movement regarding President Trump is that he is a populist demagogue, espousing rhetoric to embolden the fringe white supremacist groups and far-right associates to mobilize, potentially as a paramilitarized force to the detriment of non-white persons, persons of non-heterosexual orientation, and other social groups deemed to be experiencing oppression. According to multiple members in the movement, President Donald Trump uncovered buried social discontent and racial strife for the benefit of him attaining the presidency, potentially leading to an increase in racial conflict.

The determination of whether or not President Trump is a fascist requires utilization of an existing or constructed model of exactly what constitutes fascism. One must also understand that political ideologies in their purest sense are never expressed, leading to continued debates amongst scholars attempting to assess whether current or historical regimes were fascist. Mussolini's Italy is the only implementation of fascism universally agreed to be fascist, given it is Mussolini's creation. Typically, the Nazi regime in Germany is included under the fascist umbrella, but what about Joseph Stalin? He came to power as a communist, but given his strict authoritarian rule, the utilization of paramilitarized forces, acquisition of control over industry by force, and targeting of specific social groups deemed to be problematic for Stalin's Soviet Union, he exhibited similar tactics and results to fascist regimes. What about General Pinochet? Saddam Hussein? Fascism is seemingly fluid construct, malleable to the views of the specific individual.

The Trump regime is considered to be proto-fascistic, empowering far-right militant groups to come out from hiding and act as a paramilitarized force. This does not necessitate these groups actually engage in violent acts – individuals in the movement may simply seek to spread racial ideologies deemed unacceptable to Antifa (and most other Americans) for recruitment purposes. The major increase in military spending in 2017, and the reinstatement of policy allowing military surplus to be purchased by police departments, are provided as evidence of Trump having fascist-tendencies.

President Trump is perceived as espousing rhetoric which separates working-class white Americans from specific out-groups, including those of Muslim faith and some form of Middle Eastern ethnicity and Mexicans and other Latinos. Evidence is provided including the so-called “Muslim ban”, a continuation of a 2013 Obama administration policy placing a moratorium on travel from specific countries that the U.S. has military involvement. President Trump also espoused rhetoric implying that many of the immigrants from Mexico are rapists and thugs, and a wall is required to facilitate ceasing further illegal immigration. Unifying and rallying a racial, class, or ethnic group against identifiable out-groups is a classic tactic utilized by fascist regimes.

Numerous other arguments are postulated by anti-fascists to

support the claim of President Trump being fascist and/or white supremacist-leanings. It would be ignorant to declare that Trump's platform and actions thus far have absolutely no commonalities with fascist governance. Problematic aspects include widespread appointments from Goldman Sachs and the military, siding with corporate interests over treaties with indigenous peoples (i.e. North Dakota access pipeline issue), and a continuation of imperialistic policies in the Middle East. The imperialism and corporatist economics of previous regimes is being continued, with a Reagan-esque tax policy which disproportionately benefits multinational corporations over the working-class and an ever-increasing military budget, are all problematic aspects of American governmental policy as a whole, not necessarily specific to any one administration.

Whether or not the Trump administration will push the country and government towards fascist ideology is not yet known. His antics on the campaign trail and his actual policy decisions must be separated for the purpose of determining his political philosophy, which is seemingly in-line with traditional business Democrats, with semi-radical populist elements included for show more than substance. If the Trump administration attempts to implement martial law or other extreme measures in-line with fascist regimes of past and present, having militant groups such as Antifa present aids in countering authoritarianism. As a society, a lot can be learned from the so-called "far-left" or "far-right" extremist groups, composed of individuals willing to take action for what they believe to be moral, regardless of whether or not someone agrees with the tactical elements or specific aspects of the ideologies.

## ***Antifa's Definition***

### ***South Side Anti-Racist Action***

South Side Anti-Racist Action defines fascism through the following three quotes:

First Quote:

*“Fascism is a revolutionary movement of the right against both the bourgeoisie and the left, of middle class and declassed men, that arises in zones of protracted crisis.”*

Second Quote:

*“Fascism is a revolutionary form of right-wing populism, inspired by a totalitarian vision of collective rebirth, that challenges capitalist political and cultural power while promoting economic and social hierarchy.”*

Third Quote:

*“Fascism is not a danger because it is ruling class policy or is about to be adopted as policy. Not even because it could have major influences on this policy. Nor is it a danger because of the “rahowa,” racial holy war, that is advocated by some fascist factions. The policies of official capitalism carried out through the schools and the criminal justice and welfare systems are both a far greater and a more immediate threat to the health and welfare of people of color than fascist instigated racial attacks and their promotion of racist genocide. The real danger presented by the emerging fascist movements and organizations is that they might gain a mass following among potentially insurgent workers and declassed strata through an historic default of the left. This default is more than a possibility, it is a probability, and if it happens it will cause massive damage to the potential for a liberatory anti-capitalist insurgency.”*

## Methodology & Findings

Given the qualitative nature of the epistemology of fascism, interviews were used as the primary tool. Interviews occurred face-to-face, via phone, e-mail, message boards such as 4chan and Reddit, and utilizing social media platforms, including Facebook, Twitter and Mastodon. For each individual, the question of “What is fascism?” was proposed during the interview, with varying follow-up questions as necessary.

Antifa members of a semi-randomized sample ( $n = 75$ ), including members from a variety of locations around the country, were interviewed regarding definitions of fascism. Common themes identified during interviews were that capitalism's final stage is fascism, imperialism is an expression of capitalism and fascism, and the underlying problem is not a specific leader, but the global hegemony. Multinational corporations and their detrimental effects on indigenous peoples and the environment were commonly expressed as a secondary concern, with nearly every interviewee stating that the power of multinational corporations and harm to the environment are expressions of capitalism and fascism.

Global banking, Monsanto, and the pharmaceutical industry were also given as issues relating to the fascist stage of capitalism. Capitalism breeds socioeconomic and political inequality, which will eventually lead to such disparity that a revolution of some form will likely occur. The number of individuals benefiting from state policy will decrease over time, leaving a greater proportion of individuals feeling oppressed and displaced by the state.

Out of the 75 individuals interviewed, only 10 stated that another political candidate was significantly better than Donald Trump, with the remainder stating that all were relatively equally invalid. Out of the 10 who expressed another presidential candidate as being significantly better, 8 of these individuals stated Bernie Sanders, 1 stated Hillary Clinton, and the final one stated Jill Stein. The bulk of individuals interviewed rejected the two-party system especially, but the political system as a whole.

The most commonly-stated alternatives to the current state of government were of the anarchic variety, albeit not necessarily stated as

such. Socialism and communism were the most commonly stated alternatives. However, socialism and communism in this context must be differentiated from “state socialism” and “authoritarian communism”. The desired form of governance is one of the people, by the people, for the people, not a system similar to European socialism or Leninism-Stalinism of the Soviet Union. Anarcho-communism was also commonly expressed as a potential alternative, with the definition given for anarcho-communism bearing similarities to the aforementioned socialism and communism definitions. State socialism, democratic socialism, and other forms of socialism were also mentioned by a few interviewees, all of whom were part of the ten interviewees who provided some degree of support to a specific political candidate.

## Summary

The goal of this and the previous two chapters of this book is to explain fascism in a variety of contexts, including the historical and political context, the sociopolitical and ethnocultural context, and fascism in the modern lexicon. Defining fascism in the modern sociocultural context has proven elusive, especially given the overuse of the term to describe nearly anything perceived disgusting or disagreeable. Having a common set of agreed upon, or at least mutually understood, definitions is the necessary building block for the beginning of productive debate.

Fascism, in a historical context, refers to a political system consisting of a hyper-militarized state with paramilitary groups assisting with maintaining compliance with national orders, a centralized government with a dictatorial leader with full executive power, a corporatist economic policy with a corporation-government partnership, and hyper-nationalism, with strict compliance to the stated national values and traditions. In the case of Nazism, the hyper-nationalism was extended to the extreme of exterminating those deemed inferior and detrimental to the “German people”.

Fascism is more than just a form of governance – it is a concept applicable to social groups.. Some of these social groups clearly state adherence to National Socialism / Nazism or other forms of fascism and its derivatives. Other groups are not necessarily political groups and may only adhere to aspects of fascism. When observed, a well-informed person is able to notice a certain essence of a group which seemingly qualifies it as being a form of fascism.

Fascism, in an all-encompassing sociocultural context of modern times, is a social or political ideology which includes at minimum, the following:

1. Paramilitancy of some form.
2. A form of extreme group identity, with exclusion of all other groups.
3. An opponent perceived as a threat to the exclusionary group identity, which requires some form of #1 to combat.

Utilizing this model, groups such as National Alliance, the KKK, Creativity Movement, and others may be classified as fascist,

given their focus on the white race as being supreme, a desire for separatism, and varying forms of militancy to promote and protect group identity. This would also include the eco-fascists, religious extremist groups, and other exclusionary groups utilizing some form of “boots on the ground” to ensure propagation of their goals.



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# Chapter VII:

## Psychology of Fascism

### & Anti-Fascism

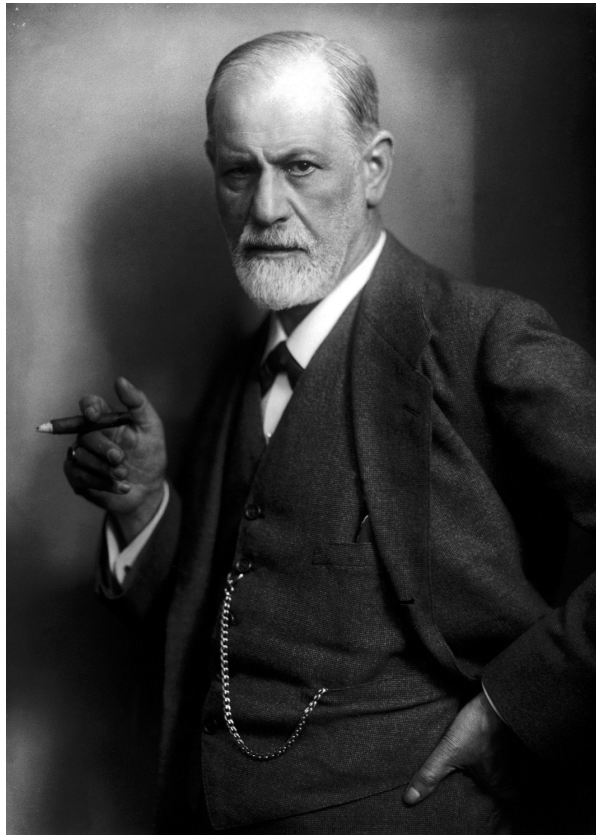


Photo of Sigmund Freud, pioneer in modern Personality theory.

## Introduction

This chapter is likely to be the most controversial chapter of this book, given the perceived controversies that emerge when discussing human behavior in terms of genetics, neurology, and psychology. This chapter will certainly present information from studies where someone who is a part of the group under study either actually, or self-perceptually, does not adhere to the statistically significant categorizations discovered during research. Not all liberals, conservatives, or other political group members adhere to a specific personality type, nor should it necessarily be framed as specific personality characteristics as necessarily being negative – each of the big five personality traits proved useful at some point during the evolutionary process. Numerous examples of outliers are available as well – Antifa members who are high in conscientiousness and low in openness exist. When studying a social group, it is important to keep in mind that correlated traits are examples of commonalities amongst the group as a whole, and not a descriptor of each and every member of the group.

Another issue arises when discussing the origins of hierarchical structures. Discussing the most basic of hierarchical structures, and the potential evolutionary origins of hierarchical structures, leads us to the study of primates, who participate in basic hierarchical structures. This provides a baseline of comparison for more complex hierarchical systems exhibited by humans. This does not necessarily mean that more heteroarchitectural systems of Antifa are less evolved and as a result, less valuable – many systems and institutions in our society would benefit from less complex hierarchical structures and a return to more basic, less bureaucratic, structures.

In this chapter, the goal is to provide a basic discussion of psychological concepts and theories necessary for understanding potential influences on the formation, participation, and growth of social movements, especially those either of the so-called far-left or far-right varieties. For those who are seeking a more in-depth analysis, a literature review of certain topics is provided. Depending on level of interest, this chapter may be expanded into separate, more in-depth full-length text, with meta-analyses.



## Hierarchical Structure

Human beings, much like other primates and mammals, tend to default to some form of dominance hierarchy. Given the multiple domains in which human beings inhabit, a single person may be near or at the top of a dominance hierarchy in one situation, such as being a supervisor at work, yet low in another dominance hierarchy, such as within one's own household, where the spouse may dominate the decision making process and undermine any attempts at the work supervisor's role in influencing their children. Antifa, viewed as a collective group, espouses a desire to abolish hierarchical systems, such as the class hierarchy imposed by the state in classical Marxist terms, or in more modern terms, hierarchies formed by society on the basis of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity and other factors. Despite expressing the desire to abolish hierarchies, Antifa defaults to a basic hierarchical system seen throughout biological systems.

Dominance hierarchies emerge when competing members of a species compete for access to limited resources or proliferation of genetic material. Without a dominance hierarchy, every single meeting between two or more members of a species involving competition for resources would likely result in a violent interaction. Repeat violent interactions would likely be detrimental to the advancement of the species as a whole. Hierarchical systems create order out of chaos, and while potentially detrimental to the advancement of subordinate familial lineages, facilitate the advancement of the species as a whole.

We will begin by discussing a relatively simple dominance hierarchy, at least seemingly simplistic compared to that of humans: the chimpanzee dominance hierarchy.

The social group of Chimpanzees is a fission-fusion social group, meaning that chimpanzees live within a large community of all individual chimpanzees who interact regularly and much smaller groups, many of which are temporary assemblages<sup>1</sup>. In chimpanzee populations, linear dominance hierarchies tend to develop amongst the males and females, relatively separately, with males having dominance

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1 Discussed in Kristina Cawthon Lang's "Primate Factsheet" on University of Wisconsin's Primate Research Center website.

over females in interactions.

With these hierarchies, males who are of greater status reproduce at a much higher rate than lower status males, and the bulk of females who successfully reproduce and receive protection from the group while nursing are of higher status. While members of both the activist groups and so-called right-wing groups are obviously not chimpanzees, this form of social hierarchy becomes important later in the discussion of Antifa's hierarchical structure. The foci of continued discussion will be both biological and sociocultural hierarchical systems, both those perceived to be problematic and needing change or eradication, and those which form as an unexpected result of Antifa's own desire to create a heteroarchival system.

In sociology and other social science disciplines, social stratification focuses on the societal groupings that form as a result of socioeconomic status, social status, perceived or actual power, race, ethnicity, biological sex or gender, etc. Depending on the situation and researcher, opinions on hierarchies range from hierarchies being a primal biological structure based on a need for survival to hierarchies being nothing more than social constructs.

Within each Antifa group, an informal dominance hierarchy is constructed as a result of numerous factors: perceived intellectualism, radicalism and a willingness to engage in potentially (or actual) criminal activities in advancement of the movement, martyrdom, taking a leadership role in executive activities such as event organizing and recruitment, etc. A social circle of regularly active participants, who tend to be highly vocal, emerge as a dominant class, compared to those further down the dominance hierarchy, including active, but less vocal, participants who are weary about participation in many activities, and those only trivially involved in meetings. Some individuals only participate in Black bloc activities, yet do not attend any meetings, frequently due to ulterior motives.

Antifa fails to have a highly structured hierarchical system, lacking official titles and ranks, lacking a central authority which sets policies and practices for all Antifa groups. Hierarchy is typically perceived as a system of oppression. This directly conflicts with right-wing groups, which focus on clean-cut appearances, professional uniforms, rank-and-file systems similar to a military, and central

authorities providing direction to state- or regional-level authorities, which in turn supervise more localized groups.

The Antifa movement, an alliance of many affinity groups and even individuals who participate in the Black Bloc and other events without group-affiliation, is inclusive of groups which do have a hierarchical structure. For example, some anti-fascist and anti-racist campus groups have a specific individual defined as president, and other as secretaries or in other roles. However, the common theme is egalitarianism and true democratic methods. Organizations who have affiliated themselves with the movement which have authoritarian views or structures are frequently criticized by members, including the RCP, which recently organized an event in Portland, Oregon against fascism.

The differences between Antifa and neo-fascist groups can be explained through examination of common personality traits associated with members of left- and right-wing revolutionary groups. Reactionary and revolutionary tendencies seem to have a link to certain personality traits. However, it must be repeated that simply having a correlation between personality traits and political affiliation does not imply personality traits are causative mechanisms for political action.

## **Personality Traits**

The study of the theory of personality as it applies to involvement in radical groups provides significant insight potential factors predisposing certain individuals to left-wing revolutionary or right-wing reactionary group involvement. In the following section, we will analyze common personality traits found amongst populations similar to the composition of Antifa, as well as provide evidence for differences as compared to right-wing reactionary groups.

## Disgust Sensitivity

***“I have a feeling that I have to find an intellectual rationalization for my emotional reactions.”<sup>1</sup>***

Disgust is one of the most core, primitive emotions experienced by humans. As discussed in previous chapters, many individuals in right-wing movements perceive individuals in the out-group as being comparable to rodents, pests, or other undesirable creatures. As mentioned in Chapter 3, disgust intolerance is typically associated with right-wing groups, with the groups of potential debate being the radical environmental and animal rights groups, who demonstrate behaviors and social structures common to right-wing groups, with some elements of left-wing groups as well. Given the seemingly reactionary elements of the anti-racist movement, the hypothesis is that both reactionary right-wing groups, as well as the anti-fascist movement, both exhibit high disgust sensitivity. However, the expression of this emotion, as well as the rationalization of the most moral and ethical behavior for dealing with feelings of disgust, differ, leading to social conflict.

Before reviewing the literature, it is important to remember that many of the studies utilize scales more apt to measure traditional conservatism, not far-right wing extremism. While some of the beliefs on the scale, such as opinions regarding “natural order”, far-right reactionary ideologies, especially in practice, tend to share numerous functional characteristics with far-left wing movements. Examples of shared functional characteristics are discussed in Chapter 3, through examples such as the actions of the NAR and eco-fascist movements. However, patterns in political beliefs related to a variety of categories of disgust tolerance is important to the understanding potential issues of concern for both Antifa & allies, and their “enemies” – the reactionary identitarian movements.

Herzog and Golden (2009) found disgust sensitivity to be positively correlated with feelings of morality related to animal welfare activism, but not correlated with various forms of vegetarianism, likely due to the dietary choices being a result of rationalizing the diet as a potential positive health benefit, while the animal rights activism has a

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1 Quote is by an animal rights activist named Lucy, who is quoted in Herzog & Golden, 2009.

more significant basis on emotional response to disgust.

Establishing a causal link between morality and disgust tolerance is necessary, given the issues anti-fascists and the opposition are fighting over are essentially issues of morality. The religious aspects of TCM, Aryan Nations, KKK, and other white supremacist groups, and the radical humanism of groups such as Antifa, are present throughout the writings and group activities.

Haidt et al (1997) perform a cross-cultural literature review, discussing the concept of “core disgust”, which is related to the omnivore's dilemma: humans are able to eat a variety of foods and explore new dietary options but must exercise caution since new dietary options may be poisonous or contain other contagions. Disgust may be broadened to include contamination sensitivity, the sensitivity to the potential of contagions in not only food, but other items. In abstract terms, an immigrant group bringing new cultural practices may be perceived as a contagion to individuals with a high degree of contamination sensitivity, since the new group may potentially contaminate the purity of the native culture.

Haidt et al (1997) discovered three additional forms of disgust common amongst the American samples, including a disgust of non-traditional sexual practices (i.e. homosexuality, transgenderism, bestiality, oral and anal sex), injured, deformed, or lifeless human bodies, and forcible breeches or alterations of the human body.

In Bixler & Floyd (2010)'s study on environmental education participation, participants with lower disgust tolerance were less likely to desire to participate in hands-on activities, where one is likely to get physically dirty, compared to those with higher degrees of disgust tolerance. This may be related to a personality trait to be discussed later in this chapter: orderliness. As you will note by the appearance of many reactionary movements, such as the Aryan Nations, members present themselves as orderly, clean-cut, in clearly defined roles within a hierarchy. While not universal, numerous reactionary group members have shaved heads – the skinhead groups – which is significantly less likely to be present within left-wing revolutionary groups.

Brenner & Inbar (2014) found that amongst two Dutch samples, disgust sensitivity predicts political attitudes related to physical and spiritual purity and general conservative interests. Individuals with high

disgust sensitivity were more likely to oppose immigration and have negative views regarding out-groups of all types, which would include homosexuals, trans people, and ethnic or racial minorities.

Similar research findings exist throughout the literature, including another study including Haidt and Inbar. In Inbar et al (2011), two large samples (combined  $N = 31,045$ ) were utilized and a significant positive relationship between disgust sensitivity and political conservatism was found, which continued even after controlling for demographics and the “Big Five” personality traits. Heightened concern with interpersonally transmitted disease and pathogens was linked to an increased likelihood of conservative political leanings.

Dukes et al (2017) tested multiple domains of moral disgust (moral, sexual, pathogen) and five domains of moral judgment (fairness/reciprocity, purity/sanctity, in-group/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity). Moral disgust was predictive for all moral foundations, with the largest value between fairness/reciprocity), sexual disgust predicted scores for all except fairness/reciprocity (largest score purity/sanctity), and pathogen disgust was predicted, albeit to a lesser extent, to all except fairness/reciprocity. These relationships were present, even when controlled for political views.

Social learning theory, which explains disgust intolerance as a learned behavior from others within the in-group, appears to have a role in disgust tolerance. This is evidenced by Sheppard (2014), who found that after being showed a social appeal video, individuals – regardless of political leanings – were more likely to eat a cricket bar. No change was observed in the group shown an intellectual video, explaining the health benefits of the cricket bar.

Smith et al (2011)'s study on disgust sensitivity and left-right political orientations provides additional evidence of the existence of a link between disgust intolerance and right-wing political ideologies, even when controlling the degree to which the individual his- or herself identifies as disgust sensitive. After controlling for age, gender, education, and self-reported disgust sensitivity, individuals with conservative political views were observed to have skin conductance change when presented with images of gay marriage, premarital sex, and other behaviors deemed by many conservatives to be immoral, at a significant level.

The relationship between morality and disgust tolerance likely has a significant genetic and neurological basis. Yang, Guan, & Qi (2014) found that when homosexual male erotic pictures were shown, the dorsal medial prefrontal cortex and amygdala (BA 9) showed increased differential activation. Increased activity in the left superior frontal gyrus / dorsal medial prefrontal cortex (BA 6) was observed when participants viewed female-female erotic pictures. This demonstrates potential differential processing of male vs. female immorality.

Sherlock et al (2016) utilized female identical and non-identical twins to estimate the proportion of variation in disgust tolerance due to environmental factors compared to genetic factors. Approximately 50 percent of variation in disgust tolerance related to pathogen, sexual, and moral disgust is due to genetics. A general genetic factor was found that underlies all three disgust domains, while morality disgust sensitivity did not exhibit separate domain-specific genetic variation.

Disgust tolerance has been shown to be a significant predictive factor for political beliefs in-line with right-wing reactionary group membership. Given neurological and genetic research, it appears that this variation has a significant biological basis. However, genetics and neurological development are insufficient at explaining why certain individuals with strong conservative beliefs participate in reactionary militant groups, while others do not. Social learning and other environmental factors play a significant role as well, albeit the exact proportion explained by environment vs. biological factors is debatable.

## **Big Five Personality Traits**

The five factor model (FFM), or big five personality traits, is a model of core personality traits constructed through factor analysis and a comparison of what characteristics individuals within a specific factor analyzed groups tend to share. The five main personality traits discovered were: openness to experience (intellectually curious, open to emotion, sensitive to beauty, unconventional beliefs), conscientiousness (self-discipline, dutiful, achievement-oriented, impulse control), extroversion (engagement with external world, interacting with people, energetic, assertiveness), agreeableness (considerate, kind, trusting of others, trustworthy, desire social harmony), and neuroticism (negative

emotions such as anger, anxiety, depression). This scale requires modification across cultures, given some cultures do not exhibit each trait clearly. The five factors, to varying degrees, seemingly capture some cognitive phenomena which influences political ideology and related behavior.

Openness is one of the most difficult of the five factors to define, given its expansiveness in influence on behavior and thought, ranging from effecting one's ability to appreciate the aesthetics of a flower or piece of music in solitude to an increased ability to perceive concepts in new, creative ways in a technological setting. Those who are low in openness tend to have a strong need for closure and a desire for definite and final answers, which is a potential explanatory mechanism for why individuals with right-wing political ideologies tend to have more pronounced religious faith in America<sup>1</sup>, especially the Abrahamic religions. This trait is described by numerous adjectives in the English language, with many of these adjectives seemingly unrelated to a lay person. Regardless of whether openness is a relatively distinct phenomenon, or a series of loosely related phenomena captured by this umbrella, this concept appears to measure something important to human behavior and cognition, influencing one's action in not only political action and ideology but also influencing numerous other domains of human life.

Trait "openness" is associated with left-wing political belief, especially political belief associated with unconventional, potentially riotous, protest activity. Roets et al discovered a strong, positive correlation between openness and left-wing political ideology in Western Europe, a relationship which was weaker in Eastern Europe. A significant relationship was discovered between openness and unconventional activism, not nearly as strong with conventional activity<sup>1</sup>. Openness being linked to left-wing ideology and/or low openness linked to right-wing ideology has been demonstrated in numerous other research studies, including Van Heil et al (2004), Thorisdottir et al (2007), Sibley & Duckitt (2008), Carney et al (2008), McCrae & Sutin (2009), Gerber et al (2010), Dennison (2013), and

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1 McCrae & Sutin (2009), pg 12.

1 Research available in the academic paper "Openness as a Predictor of Political Orientation & Conventional & Unconventional Political Activism in Western & Eastern Europe", conducted at Ghent University.



countless others. Specifically, traditionalism, acceptance of inequality, rule-following, and a high need for security are all associated with low scores in openness and a leaning towards right-wing ideology<sup>2</sup>.

Conscientiousness refers to a personality factor including two main sub-factors: orderliness and industriousness. Orderliness as a subtype refers to a desire to keep things tidy and organized, whether it be physical – keeping one's living or work space clean and organized, appearance clean-cut, etc, mentally – focusing on definite, final solutions to problems, closure in cases of mortality or on spiritual matters, devising solutions which are orderly and traditional, or in a more abstract sense – having a society where law and order prevails, traditional values in a society, etc. Industriousness refers to a desire to be productive – a strong work ethic.

Conscientiousness, and its derivatives industriousness and orderliness, appear to influence a predisposition towards right-wing ideology. This claim is supported in the literature by Van Heil et al (2004), Sibley & Duckitt (2008), Carney et al (2008), McCrae & Sutin (2009), Gerber et al (2010), Dennison (2013), Brenner & Inbar (2014), and others.

McCrae & Sutin (2009) discuss how a low score in openness is strongly correlated to a high score in conscientiousness ( $r = -.42$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), providing evidence for a higher-order, encompassing phenomenon or set of related phenomena, which may account for this predisposition.

It is arguable that the battles between the Antifa movement and right-wing groups can be reduced to inherent personality differences in openness and conscientiousness, or even simply a battle between open vs. conscientious individuals. These two factors are two of the strongest predictors of left- and right-wing ideology formation and activism, respectively.

The other three factors appear to have significantly less effect on left-right political ideology, including activism on the fringe extremes. Black individuals who are high in extroversion are more likely to support liberal economic policy than those who are introverted, a relationship which was not observed at a significant level amongst

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2 Thorisdottir et al, 2007.

other racial groups (McCrae & Sutin, 2010). Sibley & Duckitt (2008) found a moderately positive relationship between disagreeableness and social dominance orientation, a component of right-wing ideology and according to McCrae & Sutin (2009) discovered higher agreeableness is associated with more liberal economic policy. Neuroticism does not appear to be a significant component of either left- or right-wing ideologies in the literature.

In a modern society, we require the positive contributions of both types of people. Individuals high in openness tend to be inventors, entrepreneurs, artists, and other creative types. These are the individuals who are most willing to fight for injustices performed against the out-group, such as immigrants, those with non-majority sexual orientations or proclivities, and the impoverished. However, someone has to actually set forth company policy, manage the finances of a company, interpret legal requirements, and work under the direction of others to actually build the new invention. This is where conscientious individuals thrive.

Even in the sociopolitical spectrum, both types of personalities bring a different perspective that can be useful for the well-being of society at-large. Conscientious individuals have a strong desire for preserving cultural values and ensuring law and order, while open individuals are willing to seek creative ways to address potential flaws with the traditional way society addresses an issue. Conscientious individuals facilitate cohesive communities – open individuals facilitate societal advancement.

## **Social Identity**

Social identity is a complex concept in social psychology, as well as a concept which has been debated by philosophers and others for centuries. How one defines oneself is influenced by a multitude of factors, ranging from one's own personal experiences, biological predispositions, environment, and group affiliation. One's entire social identity is not merely a sum of all personal and social identities. Through a discussion of deindividuation, we will discuss social identity and the role it plays in participation in antinormative activist and political groups.

## Deindividuation

Deindividuation, the loss of self-awareness and loosening of social norms in a group setting, is an important concept for understanding why a group of individuals in a “black bloc” setting are willing to engage in violent and destructive acts, when the same individuals are mostly highly unlikely to participate in the same acts if either in a singular setting, or if the identities of each individual are not concealed. This concept has been demonstrated in a variety of contexts in academic research for decades. Groups such as Antifa, Anonymous, and others engage in a combination of both pro- and anti-social behavior, considered extreme by mainstream society, which is promoted through anonymity.

### *Definitions & Models*

Before delving into an analysis of the academic literature on the subject of deindividuation, we must assign an agreed upon definition for deindividuation. The first recorded definition of deindividuation is from Le Bon (1895), stating “when a certain number of individuals are gathered together in a crowd for the purposes of action, observation proves that, from the mere fact of their being assembled, there result certain new psychological characteristics”. Vilanova et al (2017) define deindividuation as “the situation in which individuals act in groups and do not see themselves as individuals, thereby facilitating anti-normative behavior.”<sup>1</sup> Chang (2008) defines deindividuation as “the state of inner restraint on usual behavior that is experienced by individuals in a group.”<sup>2</sup> Samarajiva, in the paper *Groups Aren't So Shocking*, defines deindividuation as a multi-faceted construct involving: “the specific environmental conditions, promote a particular psychological state, facilitate certain types of behavior”.

Numerous models have been proposed for over a century to explain deindividuation in group settings, starting with LeBon (1895)'s first theory about deindividuation, where being in crowds is the

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- 1 Quoted from Vilanova et al (2017)'s article entitled “Deindividuation: From Le Bon to the Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects”, in *Cogent Psychology*.
  - 2 From Chang (2008), quoted from abstract section.

determinant. Conscious individual personality resides while concurrently unconscious group personality arises in prominence, resulting in individuals behaving and experiencing events differently than if alone, and antinormative results at a significantly higher rate.

Festinger et al (1952) modified LeBon's model, providing what is referred to as the first formal deindividuation theory. In this model, individuals within a group setting are no longer perceived as being distinct individuals – they are part of a conglomeration. This results in a reduction of inner constraints, allowing behavior that would usually be suppressed by the individual alone to be exhibited in a group setting. This theory expanded the scope of deindividuation effects from large crowds to smaller social groups.

Zimbardo (1969) expands upon the construct of deindividuation by explaining it through the two determinant effects of reduction of self-awareness and concern for social evaluation. According to Zimbardo, deindividuation occurs through a process where within certain group settings, an individual's concern for evaluation by others and self-observation are suppressed, increasing tendencies for inhibited behaviors, which may be contrary to prediction, to emerge. Deindividuation may lead to either pro- or anti-social behavior, depending on social circumstances and environmental factors.

Diener and Walbom (1976) believed the prominent determinant factor for the emergence of deindividuation and antinormative behavior was a reduction in self-awareness in groups. Decision making regarding whether or not to engage in behavior is undermined as a result of a reduction in self-awareness, leading to engagement in behavior of which an individual would not normally participate.

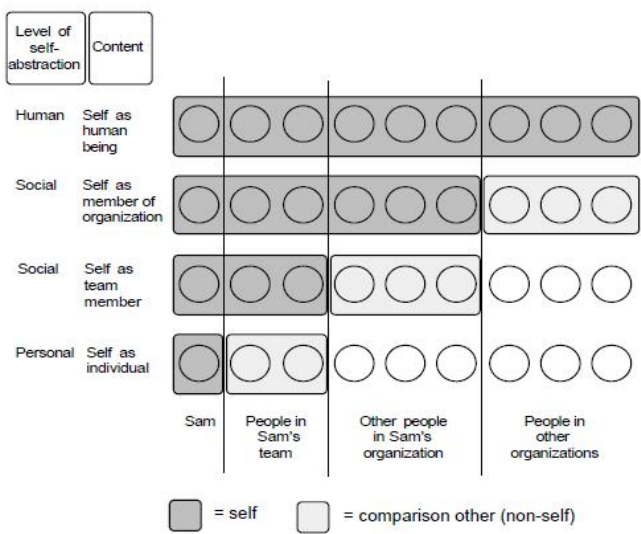
Johnson & Downing (1979) theorized that the primary phenomenon responsible for the emergence of pro- or anti-social behavior in a group setting is anonymity. Anonymity leads to individuals being more susceptible to follow the “salient rules” of a given social situation, leading to the emergence of typically inhibited behavior.

Prentice-Dunn & Rogers (1980, 1982) asserted that a reduction in private self-awareness and an alteration of cognitive and affective processes leads to elicitation of anti-normative behavior, through the process of deindividuation in a group setting. Only loss of private self-

awareness is related to deindividuation. Deindividuation in a group setting may elicit aggressive behavior which would normally be inhibited by societal and cognitive restraints.

Spears & Lea (1994), influenced by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorization Theory (Turner et al, 1987), claimed part of self-identity is created through group membership, leading to an individual utilizing the group to facilitate how one should interact with the group and society at-large. This led to the creation of the Social Identity model of Deindividuation Effects (SIDE). We will conclude this section by discussing these three theories. In the following literature review section, we will discuss more recent research which expands upon these modern theories of deindividuation.

Tajfel & Turner (1979) proposed Social Identity Theory, based on three cognitive processes related to in- and out-group affiliation of an individual: social categorization, social identification, and social comparison. Social Categorization refers to the decision-making process of determining which group(s) an individual and another person are members. The second process, social identification, refers to identifying more overtly with the group, perceiving shared norms, values, and attitudes amongst the self and the group as a whole. The third, social comparison, refers to the enmeshing of one's own self-concept with membership in a group, as well as a strong perception of out-group(s) deemed invalid by group norms, attitudes, and values. When one's comparison to an out-group is deemed favorable to the current in-group of which one claims membership, a dissatisfied social identity emerges.



Pictorial model of SCT<sup>a</sup>.

Self-categorization theory (SCT), developed by Turner et al (1987), theorized that identity is formed through various levels of abstraction. Three levels of abstraction explain an individual's identity. The lowest level is the personal self, the middle level is the social self, and the highest is the abstraction of the collective humankind vs. other species. Similarities and differences in social categorization influence the development of the self.

The Social Identity model of Deindividuation Effects (SIDE) model, developed by Lea and Spears (1991), explains deindividuation in groups through the processes of anonymity. Anonymity effects self-awareness of personal vs. social identity, allowing typically inhibited behavior to emerge within a group setting. SIDE model is one of the most prominent current theories of individuation and deindividuation in group settings.

<sup>a</sup> Image by Alex Haslam (2011), utilized under the Creative Commons.

## *Discussion*

Phillip Zimbardo (1969) randomly assigned women into groups, either dressed up as Ku Klux Klan members, or in normal clothes with a name tag. Each was given the task of providing an electrical shock to an individual in another room. The individuals who had their identities concealed with KKK clothing shocked the individuals in the other room for significantly less time than the control group of identified individuals. Johnson & Downing (1979) had one group dress up as KKK members, and another in nurse uniforms. The individuals dressed in KKK uniforms shocked confederates significantly more often than the nurse uniformed group. Given the results of these two studies, and numerous others in the academic literature, it follows that a reasonable hypothesis would be that members of the Antifa movement, who dress up with face-covering bandannas and other articles of clothing which are associated with physical aggression, may influence those who would be less likely to participate in aggressive, violent acts to engage in previously inhibited actions.

Kugihara (2001) hypothesized that the larger the group size, the higher degree of anonymity. Therefore, an increased tendency towards antisocial behavior would be observable. This appears to be the case with Antifa gatherings, where the most violent events tend to be those with the most members present, while those with only a few members present tend to be more peaceful. However, this may be due to a larger group simply having more individuals present. The more individuals present, the greater likelihood that at least one individual will engage in antisocial behavior, especially when other variables are controlled, which is to a degree the case when a group of individuals amassing under the same ideological banner of the anti-fascist movement.

Asch (1952) conducted an experiment with a subject, inserted into a group of eight to ten confederates, where all individuals were presented with a single line, then a series of lines to match its length to. The confederates purposely provided a wrong answer, and subsequently, seventy percent of subjects answered with the wrong answer at least once. This is comparable to the control group, where only five percent of subjects answered with the wrong answer at least

once<sup>1</sup>.

When in a group setting or identity is otherwise in a state of deindividuation, the frequency of antisocial behavior increases significantly. Diener et al (1976) had children dressed in identity-concealing costumes or participate in trick-or-treating as part of a group, compared to a control group of a single, identifiable individual. The children in costumes, or within a group, were significantly more likely to take more than one piece of candy, despite being told taking more than one piece was prohibited, than the control group. Diener & Wallbom (1976) found that 71% of individuals cheated on an anagrams test in a non-self-aware condition, compared to 7% in a control group. Bishop (2013) found that Internet flame trolling activities significantly increased when individuals were in a state where anonymity was assumed.

Social media plays a significant role in the deindividuation process, as well as recruiting for and building radicalized groups. Busher (2015) provides an explanation for how social media networks are utilized for recruitment and post-recruitment radical political action. Social networks provide information channels and frame acquisition, allowing for propagation of ideology and relatively private information channels for communication amongst radicals. The process of group identification, through utilization of existing social ties and formation of strong emotional bonds, provides a process of identification amongst group members. First contacts are facilitated, providing concrete opportunities for participation and alleviation of social fears of attending a first meeting or engaging in political activism for the first time.

Post-recruitment, social networks provide opportunities for tactical learning, by sharing information and experience through social media and other networks. Information is presented which may or may not be verifiable or true, which operates as a polarization mechanism by strengthening confirmation biases. The polarization from the out-group sometimes includes encouragement to sever ties with anyone associated with the out-group, similar to Smith et al (2015)'s BuzzFeed article, "Here's How to Delete Your Facebook Friends Who Like Donald Trump". Finally, a reshaping of conceptions of legitimate political

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1 Study discussed in Samarajiva's paper, cited in the References section.



actions occurs, where activities perceived as immoral or socially unacceptable are presented as justifiable actions. The process of deindividuation facilitates this process.

## Morality

Morality has been subject to debate – whether openly or in private, depending on legality – for the bulk of record human history. The earliest philosophers debated and the earliest spiritual traditions held a firm basis in morality. Ethnocentrism leads to difficulty for one to see the relative nature of morality, given the inherent difficulty of observing another's culture from a truly objective manner<sup>1</sup>. If a random group of individuals in the United States were to be placed in a group to decide upon what “immoral absolutes” exist, an observer would likely hear “murder”, “child molestation”, “rape”, “theft”, “assault”, “lying”, and perhaps even “using drugs”, etc – a mixture of legal terminology and culturally agreed-upon sins. However, is murder absolutely immoral? If a father murders his child to spite his ex-wife, as a society, we could likely agree uniformly as a society that this is not a moral action, but even in this case, what if the father was suffering from hallucinatory effects of undiagnosed Schizophrenia? Did the father act immoral, if he was not in a cognitive state of capability in making such

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1 In this book, I have attempted to explain a movement as essentially a complete outsider to the movement. While participating in community work and activism to a degree, my experience with this was typically focused on mental health and addictions care, and government entitlement programs (i.e. addressing the need for secular addictions support services in the community for those without financial means to pay, the overly expensive, ineffective drug screening for Food Stamps implementation efforts). Many people in society make vacuous statements supporting or denouncing entire movements, based mostly on emotions and intuition, instead of taking the time to consider the other's perspective. On Facebook, I have found myself on the receiving end of harsh criticism for both not supporting, as well as not denouncing wholesale, the Antifa movement. Those who state this group is nothing but terroristic activities are typically unable to consider the perspective of the individuals within this group, and many who express support for the movement (post-Charlottesville especially) would abandon support if this movement were to be addressing fascist elements of the Obama administration (if he were still in office, obviously).

a moral judgment? However, what if it is in self-defense, or in defense of your family? Some people may respond, “Well, that’s not murder – murder is a specific legal term.” Is capital punishment always indefensible? Some say yes, some say no. What about in defense of your society during wartime, or better yet – during a revolution from a tyrannical ruler? The Fourth of July is celebrated with grandiose symbolic patriotism. In the Middle East, can both the Israelis and Palestinians both be justified in their killing, are both acting immoral, or is one side moral and the other side not, a position typically exemplified by the expression “God is on our side”. With just the topic of one human purposely taking the life of another human being, it becomes increasingly complex to derive moral absolutes. Even if strict, fundamentalist religious teachings are utilized for moral absolutes, religious scholars still debate on the specific meaning of Biblical passages, the exact message meant in passages of the Qu’ran, etc. Also, what necessarily makes one set of religious teachings necessarily superior to all others? Regardless of religious conviction or even involvement in a secular moral crusade, one must admit that morality is to a large degree, relative to some extent. In this section, I seek to provide a brief overview of theory in the study of moral development, provide a framework useful for the analysis of ethics, and discuss the related processes influencing action by members involved in the anti-fascist movement. It is not designed for the purpose of assessing the absolute morality of members of the Antifa movement, nor the absolute morality of the shared doctrine of the movement.

## **Morality vs. Ethics**

Morals, ethics, and virtues: three terms frequently used interchangeably, albeit frequently incorrectly. The precision of terminology frequently becomes a central point in heated discussions of sociopolitical or ethnocultural nature, in similar vein to that of the discussion of 'fascism' in the first three chapters. Precise definitions allow more coherent discussion, focusing on the substance of arguments, not the semantics of terminology.

Morals refer to what is deemed right or wrong by a value system. Value systems exist in hierarchical form, with stacked value systems from a macro-level forming the basis of the value system of an individual. For example, an individual's value system may consist of

what is moral as deduced from social interactions and self-knowledge, the teachings of a religion, and perhaps receiving influence from professional guidelines and a society's legal guidelines.

Ethics refer to permissible versus impermissible codes of conduct in a society. The laws set forth by a government and a code of conduct set forth by a professional body are examples of ethics. Personal morals may be derived from ethical standards, and ethical standards are formed from morals.

Virtues refer to universally good principles. Virtues include concepts such as honor, integrity, honesty, and respect. Virtues are often derived from a subset of morals which are deemed especially important, and universal, for the good of society as a whole.

## Discussion

Antifa is a movement which endorses selective violence when necessary to achieve sociopolitical ends, an endorsement which is frequently criticized by conservatives, classical liberals, libertarians, and individuals of other political affinities. Despite being vehemently opposed to Antifa's endorsement of violence, many of these same individuals would be willing to endorse violence under other circumstances, whether it be in self-defense, during wartime, in the execution of a prisoner guilty of heinous crimes, etc. Violence as a means to an end has been utilized throughout history on the sociopolitical scale. The goal of this chapter isn't to argue a case on either side regarding the morality of the utilization of violence – it is to attempt to understand the moral – or potentially lack of – underpinnings involved in engagement in the more aggressive actions associated with the Antifa movement.

One of the most prominent figures in the psychological study of morality is Lawrence Kohlberg, who set forth a series of stages of moral development. These six stages include the following:

### *Level 1 (Pre-Conventional):*

- 1. Obedience & Punishment Orientation
  - How do I avoid punishment?
- 2. Self-Interest Orientation

- What is in it for me?

*Level 2 (Conventional):*

- 3. Interpersonal Accord & Conformity
  - Does this violate a social norm?
- 4. Authority & Social-Order Maintaining Orientation
  - Does this comply with law and order of society?

*Level 3 (Post-Conventional):*

- 5. Social Contract Orientation
  - What is the greatest good for the greatest number?
- 6. Universal Ethical Principles
  - Abstract reasoning about ethics.

It is impossible to define an entire movement of thousands of individuals and numerous separate groups within a specific stage of this construct. Any individual within the group may be within any stage, and individuals within different stages of ethical development may be able to work towards a common goal, for differing reasons and levels of ethical consideration. Kohlberg's stages are useful for providing a simple, useful construct for separating different degrees of complexity in moral development, from very egocentric, concrete moral judgments to those where one is able to sacrifice one's own personal gain for the continuation of an abstract concept, but fail to explain what it is exactly that causes one person to be able to make abstract ethical judgments at one's own peril, yet another person of similar IQ and environment would utilize the same set of circumstances for personal gain, perhaps only ceasing engagement in destructive behavior as a result of fear of being arrested.

Social Intuitionist Model

Haidt (2001) discusses the social intuitionist model, a model in place to challenge the previous work of Kohlberg and other academics in the theory of moral development, especially theory in the field of social psychology. In this model, intuition, not reasoning, is the primary determinant of morality, and morality is typically argued after the fact to affirm a position, not beforehand to derive morality.

Figure 2.4. *The social intuitionist model*. Intuitions come first and reasoning is usually produced after a judgment is made, in order to influence other people. But as a discussion progresses, the reasons given by other people sometimes change our intuitions and judgments.

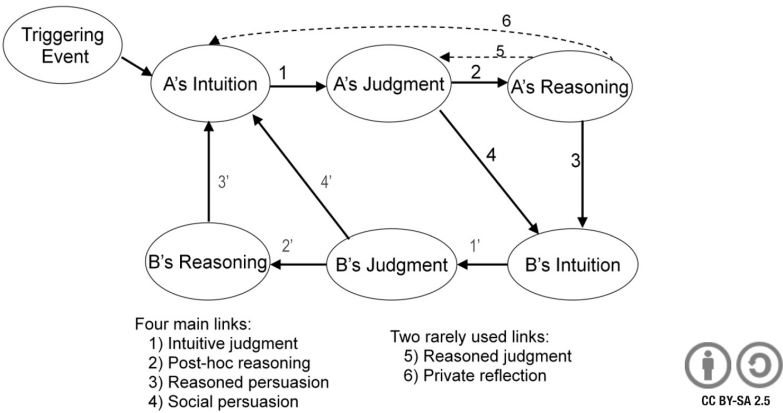


Figure from Jonathan Haidt  
righteousmind.com

The Righteous Mind :  
Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion

Image depicting the social intuitionist model<sup>a</sup>.

a Image from Wikipedia, under Creative Commons license. Original source is from Haidt (2012)'s *The Righteous Mind*.



The social intuitionist model possesses two distinct components. The first is intuition, an instantaneous, emotional, and unconscious process, followed by the second, a logical process which serves to provide post hoc justifications for the the morality derived from intuition.

According to Haidt (2001), morality consists of five domains, derived through factor analysis. These domains include: harm/care, fairness/reciprocity, ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect and purity/sanctity. Differing levels of emphasis are placed upon each by different individuals, with liberals typically focusing on harm/care and fairness/reciprocity to a greater degree than conservatives, while typically neglecting the final three, of which conservatives place significant importance<sup>1</sup>.

While serving as an educational model and providing adequate explanations for certain types of moral problems, more recent research has shown a more primary, logical approach to solving moral problems, at least many types. Cushman, Young, and Hauser (2006) found that individuals use conscious reasoning to solve some moral problems, but rely on intuition with others. Similarly, Green et al. (2009) found that non-utilitarian moral judgments are more influenced by emotion whereas utilitarian approaches to moral decisions are more influenced by more controlled, conscious processes.

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1 Discussed in Haidt (2001), Haidt (2008), & Haidt (2012).

## Moral Panic

Moral panic is rampant in society, throughout American history, whether it is the Salem witch trials, the temperance movement, the sixties anti-war movement, etc. Moral panic is defined by Stan Cohen (1972) as:

“A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible.”<sup>1</sup>

Moral panics can either be long-term violative episodes which create significant change in society's values or short-term decivilizing processes within a larger structure. We will be analyzing the anti-fascist movement, focusing on how episodes of moral panic and the perception of folk devils has impacted the movement, and explain the movement itself utilizing the concept of moral panic.

Moral panics have occurred throughout American history. Two of the most readily known are the Salem witch trials and the temperance movement. In the former situation, a perceived threat and series of events were misinterpreted, leading to a societal outrage and direct action against individuals perceived as being part of the out-group, the so-called witches. In the latter, fire-and-brimstone preachers and suffragettes created an alliance against the perceived threat of rough-and-tumble, “wild west” men, who drank too much alcohol and engaged in too many fights. In both cases, the perceived threat was exaggerated based on perceived events, many of which were not reality-based. While not seeking to denounce the existence of a significant problem with prejudicial actions in American society, many of the beliefs and actions of Antifa members can be explained as a result of moral panic.

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1 Quote is from a seminal work in the study of moral panics, Stanley Cohen (1972)'s *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*.



Dismissing all actions by Antifa as simply being the result of a misguided moral panic or mass hysteria is myopic. Historically, the enemy – fascists, conservatives, and social democrats – were painted as evil corporatist monsters, who treat the workers as nothing more than cogs in a machine. Massive propaganda campaigns were conducted both on the fascist and anti-fascist side, throughout Europe. The series of events causing the moral panic were mostly reality-based, and the reactionary opposition was also mostly confined to anarchists, communists, and socialists, with some reaction from the workers through general strikes. In retrospect, the reaction of the anti-fascist groups is justifiable, given the actions of the fascist movements. However, this is not always the case.

### **Moral Panic Framework**

Moral panic is a construct based on a societal reaction against another individual or groups deemed to be deviant. This can take the form of primary deviation, where an individual behaves in a troublesome way, but does not produce the symbolic self-conception of the moral panic. Secondary deviation is where an individual actively engages in the deviant behavior, and engages in a role where the deviant behavior acts as a defense to a perceived problem, and the individual becomes symbolic of the central issue of the moral panic. An individual may evolve from a primary to secondary deviant over time, depending on an individual's self-conception and fluidity of self-conception.

Moral panics occur as a result of a perceived or actual crisis and tends to follow a seven stage progression:

1. Warning – An event occurs which results in feelings of dangers. The danger must be impressive enough to make an imprint on the individual.
2. Threat – The perceived danger is communicated to others.
3. Impact – An immediate, unorganized response occurs.
4. Inventory – An individual begins to form a story of the events and own role in the perceived crisis.
5. Rescue – Organization of people begin to form for the purpose of remedying the crisis.

6. Remedy – A larger system takes control over handling the crisis, and activities become more deliberate and formal.

7. Recovery – An extended period of time where the community either returns to former equilibrium or advances towards a stable adaptation to the change related to the crisis.

The first was the initial on-the-spot reaction, which I studied mainly through observation, participant observation and the type of informal interviewing used in community studies. The second was the organized reaction of the system of social control, information about which I obtained from observation, interviews and the analysis of published material.

Stanley Cohen (1972) processual model of moral panic provides a set of agents and a general trajectory of moral panics. Four agents are necessary for the emergence of a moral panic: the mass media, moral entrepreneurs, a control culture, and the public at-large.

The mass media is considered the most important, which is seemingly still apparent at the time of writing this book. This is most recently apparent in the massive protests following the election of President Donald Trump in the United States, which seemingly sparked grassroots protests of angry citizens. However, tracing this back to the root causes, the mass media's contribution in presenting negative information regarding Donald Trump<sup>1</sup>, as well as presenting violent acts as being justifiable in protest of the presidency, likely acted as a causative mechanism for increasing the size and scope of protests.

The mass media is considered the initial catalyst for a moral panic. In the case of the Trump example above, Trump supporters were aligned with actual white supremacist groups<sup>2</sup>, with conservative groups

- 1 Garofalo, 2016 states 91% of news coverage of Donald Trump from major networks is negative.
- 2 To be fair, Dr. David Duke and other individuals considered questionable by society espousing support for Donald Trump did not help the case of Trump supporters. When analyzed further, it is clear that to many of these individuals and associated white identitarian groups, that if Barack Obama – or even better, Louis Farrakhan, a figure who has a history of being on friendly terms with organizations such as the Aryan Nations – had run on a platform which would limit immigration, support would have been directed to them as well. Many of these individuals are Trump supporters

and basically anything considered to the right of neo-conservatives labeled as deviants.

The initial stage – named the inventory stage – involves three processes. First, exaggeration or distortion of what happened occurs. The second process is prediction, where the dire consequences of failing to act are provided. The third and final process is symbolization, where the so-called “folk devils” are named and symbols are attached to the group.

Consider the propaganda<sup>1</sup> set forth by the Antifa movement and how it relates to the inventory stage. First, Antifa exaggerates how widespread the neo-Nazi movement is, despite statistical evidence on group membership showing marked decline since the 1990s. Information on high-profile individuals who are deemed a risk to society are portrayed in a negatively distorted manner. Antifa does not misrepresent their stated cause, so it is expected their information is going to be skewed in favor of their cause – they do not purport to be a research entity on fringe political group membership or any other group which would seemingly need to be unbiased. Secondly, Antifa provides examples of what will happen not only to members who seek to join or continue to participate in groups deemed opponents, but also what could potentially happen if the opinions of racists or nazis are allowed to be propagated to society-at-large. Finally, Antifa seeks to create a symbolic representation of the opposition: “Nazis”. Without creating the symbolic representation of what is deemed to be a Nazi, individuals would be seeking out a group of individuals nearly impossible to find, consisting of individuals of historical Nazi ideology – perhaps Brownshirts, individuals wearing Nazi propaganda such as Swastikas, or people identifying as National Socialists. Through this process, with assistance from the mainstream media, left-leaning alternative media, social media campaigns, and certain academics, a large swath of “right-wingers” and others have been symbolically linked to the term “Nazi”

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only to the extent that he “builds a wall”, repeals DACA, curbs immigration, and deports undocumented immigrants.

- 1 Propaganda is not intended to be perceived as necessarily a negative in this context. Consider the example of Mother's Against Drunk Driving, who utilizes propaganda techniques to lessen the potential social acceptability of driving while intoxicated, with the desired outcome of decreasing the risk of drunk driving fatalities.

in the eyes of a minority, but culturally significant minority, of society.

Moral entrepreneurs are another significant force in creating a moral panic. Moral entrepreneurs are individuals or groups who seek to eradicate the perceived immoral behavior, or in extreme cases where the behavior and person behaving are deemed equivalent, eradication of the people. Moral entrepreneurs include positive, negative, and neutral parties, including financial / political opportunists, radicals, idealists, etc. The Antifa movement in and of itself would fall under the category of moral entrepreneurship, given its stated purpose is to eradicate racism and fight racism and fascism.

The third and fourth agents include the “societal control culture”, which consists of the public and private institutions with power (i.e. court system, government offices, large corporations with corporate lobbyists, etc), and public opinion, which is swayed by the first three agents.

Moral panics provide a societal mechanism for shifting values away from the fringes back to the mean – the set of socially acceptable morals and values set forth by a society at-large based on ethnocultural history and sociopolitical shifts. In a multicultural society, a clearly defined set of common values must be present to facilitate the avoidance of conflict and to provide societal cohesion. In our current society, with long-term immigration from a variety of geographic regions, maintaining a common set of core values becomes difficult, given a lack of shared sociocultural history. This is where many of the conflicts of the present-day emerge, with identitarian groups engaging in activism for protection of their perceived cultural values, through a wide array of movements and organizations such as CAIR, La Raza, the Black Lives Matter movement, white identitarian movements, Muslim fundamentalist and extremist factions, third wave feminist movements, movements for gender non-conformists and transgendered rights, etc. Without an agreed upon morally-centrist point, moral panics may lead to increase factionalization and in extreme cases, civil wars.

We can explain moral panics in terms of three constructs: the stage, the actors, and the audience. The stage is the setting in which the moral panic is occurring, the actors are the participants in the moral panic, whether it be the perceived “folk devils”, moral entrepreneurs, agent provocateurs, or other actors, and the audience, which is typically

the society at-large effected by the moral panic.

Group affinity is necessary for a moral panic to ensue, with a relatively new, but dormant, issue to rally behind. A new threat must be identified – a physically identifiable threat that one can identify, regardless of veracity of threat, a threat which appears to be a manifestation of an archetypical evil. In modern American society, the new physically identifiable threat is President Donald Trump, who, in actuality, does not represent a “new threat” – he is perceived by many opponents as being “Hitlerian”, “Fascist”, or a “one percenter” / stereotypical “corporate fat cat”. The physical threat is relatively new. Very few individuals identified Donald Trump as a specific threat, and even if an individual did, the threat was not of the same form and essence as manifested in present perceptions.

The identified issue of a moral panic must be a transparent issue – an issue that a lay person should be able to identify. However, the threat must also be opaque, requiring an expert to handle the perceived threat and issue. In the example of President Trump, almost anyone can identify – even if they disagree – what the perceived threat of his opponents is and can repeat the threat to another person through some form of communication, whether it is Facebook or other social media, word-of-mouth, or something else. However, this is not a threat of which the average American can destroy – it requires the assistance of so-called experts, such as the typically left-leaning mainstream media outlets (i.e. CNN, MSNBC, etc), the electoral college, Hollywood elites, academics, Democratic and never-Trump Republican Party elected officials, organizations such as the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), or, to a lesser-extent, certain activist groups.

While the moral panic framework can explain the massive amounts of demonstrators in a post-Trump America, it does not explain the core group of members who have been present since the Seattle 1999 anti-WTO rallies and before. Moral panics are great at inciting involvement of new members, who are subsequently exposed to anarchist philosophy. However, it must be noted that the core group of the Antifa movement are not in a “moral panic” – these are individuals who have opted for anarchism, or potentially another form of revolutionary egalitarianism, as a construct for governance. These core individuals have protested regardless of who the president is, regardless

of which political party won, and regardless of what is en vogue in the protest scene.

## Analysis

When I began research for this book, most people I spoke with were unaware of the Antifa movement. The bulk of awareness of the movement, at least from my perspective, came from the so-called skeptic (or “conspiracy theorist”) community, a few individuals who listened to a lot of libertarian- and/or conservative-leaning alternative media platforms, and university students. Living in the Midwest, the public awareness of social movements occurring in other parts of the United States tends to be rather sparse. However, the coverage following Charlottesville provided by the mainstream media increased awareness, to the point where now the majority of people I speak to are aware of the Antifa movement. The mainstream media, politicians, and members of academia facilitated bringing awareness of the anti-fascist movement to the public sphere.

The anti-fascist movement, in and of itself, is not the core of the current primary moral panic in which the American public, and to an extent, other entities, is swept up in. The larger moral panic can be traced back to prior to Donald Trump declaring his candidacy for the Republican Party Presidential nomination. Donald Trump becoming elected, as well as the rampant post-election protests, are symptoms of a larger moral panic taking place within American society – the rise of fascism.

The rise of fascism, at least from the perspective of the Antifa movement, was present in the 1980s with protests against Reagan policies and the rise of skinhead groups, and even prior to that. However, the catalyst to trigger the spike in activity of the modern wave of Antifa and the Black Bloc was a series of events in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Rising unemployment, inflation, anti-labor legislation, and continuing war led to massive demonstrations, including the 1999 anti-WTO protest in Seattle. The 2000 election, which many believe was fixed, triggered massive civil unrest, with many individuals losing trust in the federal election system. Repressive laws of the Bush administration, continued by the Obama administration, led to continued activism.

The number of dissident political groups grew, including many reactionary groups such as Richard Spencer's National Policy Institute. The mainstream media, instead of focusing on common issues which the right- and left-wing groups were outraged about – the detrimental effects of globalization on American labor, corrupt politicians, a corporatist system which benefits the uber-wealthy at the expense of the American taxpayer, an educational system which is failing society, etc – the focus was on labeling certain groups as “Nazis” or “racist” – some do espouse racial ideologies – and others were marginalized as being single issue groups. This style of reporting further perpetuated division in an already divided country, which is beneficial for the authoritarians in power, given it leads to fighting amongst the citizens instead of a unified front against the corrupt elements of the government.

To achieve success in widespread social change, including the implementation of a system which is a true social democracy, unsavory alliance may need to be made. This does not mean that Black Lives Matter should ally themselves with the Ku Klux Klan, and given the massive infiltration by governmental officials in the KKK, it would be unwise regardless of any reactionary racial ideology of the group. However, the less reactionary, more libertarian-minded, right-wing groups may be potentially useful. Conversely, right-wing groups may need to drop the anti-communism line of the past century and consider allying with groups with a more socialist, or even anarchist, philosophy. Debating the specifics of which theories of governance are most ideal has little practicality when everyone is split into competing affinity and rival groups. At the end of the day, most Americans want the same basic things, and even those on the extremist end of the spectrum still require food, clean drinking water, and in parts of the country, shelter, to survive.

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# Chapter VIII:

## Conclusion of Volume I

This is the conclusion of the first of at least three volumes on the anti-fascist movement. The goal of this volume was to acquaint anyone from a neophyte to someone more well-read in history and politics to the Antifa movement, covering what I believed to be the core prerequisites – historical roots, the opposition, the history and definition of fascism -- before delving further into analysis and discussion of the movement.

While seemingly a bit out-of-place, I included a basic psychological discussion of social movements, mostly to provide an explanatory mechanism for the hierarchical structure of the group, as well as identify potential personality and other psychological characteristics which are associated with revolutionary and reactionary behavior. Understanding the psychological roots of thought and behavior is important not only for the analysis of social issues, but also on a personal basis – for understanding why one personally behaves in a certain way. It should be noted that no discussion of mental illness was included in the psychological chapter, as mental illness is rather irrelevant to Antifa as a social movement, albeit, individuals with mental illness have become involved in the movement, and an even smaller fraction of these individuals have engaged in dangerous activity. However, as the number of people in a group increases, the likelihood of an individual engaging in criminal behavior, having psychosis leading to dangerous behavior, etc, necessarily increases statistically. Nothing in the chapter regarding psychological factors should be construed as the Antifa movement being less involved or suffering from psychological issues of any form.

In the coverage of neo-fascist groups with current membership,

or of individuals aligned with the right-wing, reactionary, side of the conflict, I attempted to provide fair coverage of each group. I would like to thank members of Creativity Movement, Creativity Alliance, National Alliance, and Traditionalist Workers Party, for being respectful and willingness to engage in conversation, despite having ideological differences from myself. The discussion of these groups is to provide an understanding of the purpose for their existence and their desired outcomes. This information, had it been presented in a purely anti-fascist, derogatory manner, would be less useful for those wishing to confront the groups. Understanding the enemy is a key part to victory in any battle, whether a sporting event, political debate, or all-out war.

In subsequent volumes of this book, the topics within this volume will be expanded upon, and other topics, including philosophy, politics, leadership, tactics, alliances, finances, and other topics of interest will be discussed. This volume is intended to be introductory, for those with little knowledge of social psychology, politics, history, and other fields of study useful for analyzing complex social movements. Volume two will discuss more advanced topics related to the movement, and volume three will focus on the (mostly recent) controversy surrounding Antifa, including the infamous bike lock attacker, the horse-stabber of Boston, and other such characters and associated events.